THE HEEL OF WAR

BY

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN

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PREFACE

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN is recognized as an authority on the political history of modern Europe. He spent half of this year travelling through the war-stricken countries of Europe, that he might see with his own eyes and hear with his own ears. His journey took him through France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland and Italy.

Having often visited these countries in the happier days of peace, and having formed a wide acquaintance with the men who have shaped the political policies of the Powers, Mr. McClellan was admirably equipped to make a first-hand study of Europe at war.

The results of his observations were embodied in a series of articles in the *New York*

Times, which have aroused so much discussion here and abroad that, with the permission of the proprietors of the *Times,* they have been brought together in this book, after revision by the author.

That it is a difficult task for a neutral American—no matter how broad his knowledge of European peoples, their history and politics and ambitions, or how earnest his effort to write without prejudice—to tell what he has seen on the Continent without having to face the charge of partisanship, no one will deny. The warfare of words in America has been as bitter as the warfare of blood across the Atlantic.

Mr. McClellan has not escaped criticism, despite the fact that, as a neutral observer with a warm affection for the peoples of France, Germany and Italy, he has attempted to report only the facts as

he saw them on both sides of the war zone.

Mr. McClellan needs no introduction to American readers. The son of a famous father—General George B. McClellan of the Civil War—the author of this book has been for five terms a Member of Congress, for six years Mayor of New York, and is now Professor of Economic History in Princeton University.

DECEMBER, 1915.

THE HEEL OF WAR

CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF GERMANY

Conditions are practically normal. No lack of work, food, necessities, or even luxuries. Restaurants, theatres and hotels running about as usual. In very few instances are women doing the work of men. Splendid condition of soldiery. Special provision made for wounded. Hospital service unsurpassed. Prisoners well cared for in sanitary camps near military centres. Gold reserve larger than at beginning of war. Building operations are on the increase.

I HAVE written of what I saw and heard in Germany, as I saw and heard it, giving my impressions with as little comment as possible.

During the last six months I have visited Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, Bel-

gium, and Holland, four belligerent and two neutral countries. Of them all Germany is by far the most normal, conditions within the German Empire being much nearer the usual than anywhere I have been in Europe since the war began.

I entered Germany at Lindau, in Bavaria, visited München, Dresden, Berlin, and Köln, and crossed the border into Belgium at Herbersthal. Of the cities, all of which I know extremely well, one is Bavarian, one Saxon, and two Prussian. Yet in them all conditions were uniformly normal. There were fewer young men in the streets than usual and more people in mourning, each individual is limited to two hundred and fifty grams of war bread a day, and the beer gardens close at nine in the evening, so as to reduce the consumption of beer for the benefit of the men at the front, otherwise

there is nothing to show that Germany is at war.

The hotels, restaurants, and shops are all open and doing a good business. Prices are generally as they were before the war, and there is no lack of any of the necessities and luxuries of life. The schools, theatres, and opera are going, the food in the restaurants is plentiful and good, by far the best and cheapest I have had this summer; there are enough excellent express trains, with sleeping and dining cars running on the usual schedules; plenty of horse and motor cabs, and an ample supply of men in the vigor and prime of life to carry on the economic and military existence of the State.

I was in München on the King's name day and saw the streets "kept" by 15,000 new troops of the "Ersatz Reserves," men who had never before served with the colors.

They were all in new field-gray uniforms, fully armed and equipped, well set-up, fine, soldierly fellows, none over 39 years old. They were Landsturm troops of the third line of reserves, and yet any nation but Germany would have been proud to have had them in her first line.

There has been no general substitution of women for men in industrial life, although many of the train conductors, railway workers, servants in the restaurants, and a few auto cab drivers are now women.

A good deal of building is going on everywhere. In Berlin the new underground railway, and the new artificial harbor are being pushed to completion, the shop windows are filled with novelties, and I am informed by those who know more of the matter than I do, that the modes at the dressmakers and milliners are newer than are those of their

Paris rivals, who have suffered greatly from the war.

The museums and picture galleries are open and crowded, the only observable change being that they close an hour earlier than usual, and that older men have been substituted for the attendants who have been called to the front.

If Germany is in want the fact is nowhere observable. Her economic condition seems to be far better than is that of Italy or France, or even of Switzerland. Certainly one can live better and more cheaply in Germany than in any of the countries that I have lately visited, life is less difficult, there is more prosperity and less poverty. Unemployment has practically ceased, for every man and woman able to work is being used either directly or indirectly in the service of the Fatherland.

On all sides one sees evidence of the marvelous economic strength of the country. It is proved in small things as well as in great. Not only is the gold reserve twice as large as it was before the beginning of the war, not only do the supplies of capital seem inexhaustible for the transformation of old peace industries into war material factories and for the creation of new munitions plants, for the development and enlargement of the railway system for war purposes and the continuation of peace enterprises, but there is money enough to clothe every recruit in a new uniform and to bury every dead soldier in the uniform in which he was killed, luxuries which no other continental army has been able to afford.

The Germans insist that if their enemies expect to win through the economic weakness of Germany they are leaning on a feeble reed, for the empire is no weaker than it

was a year ago. On the contrary, they claim to have adapted themselves to war conditions, and to be self-sustaining, so that were it necessary the war might be prolonged indefinitely.

I was in Germany during a period of great tension, just after the sinking of the *Arabic,* when American public opinion as voiced by the press was greatly excited, some American newspapers even clamoring for war. Yet nowhere that I went did I receive anything but the most helpful courtesy and consideration. Every German official, soldier, and citizen with whom I came in contact was not only willing but anxious to aid me in seeing for myself the real conditions of the country. Even those with whom I had no personal acquaintance, despite my evident Americanism and outspoken admiration for the French, were uniformly polite

and kindly. Speaking English on the streets and in the restaurants results in only a mild interest among one's neighbors. One can easily imagine the consequences of speaking German in either Rome, Paris, or London.

Apart from the questions of recruitment and the ordinary support of the civil population, the two gravest problems which have confronted Germany during the war have been the care of the wounded and of prisoners. The wounded have been distributed among all the large cities, being sent directly from the field stations to the nearest available centre. Not only are the ordinary civil hospitals used, but a great number of military "lazarets" have been improvised. There are some thirty-six hospitals of various sizes in München, twenty in Dresden, and forty in Berlin.

The great distributing lazaret which I

visited in München is located in the new Custom House, which was transformed into an up-to-date, almost ideal modern hospital of 2,000 beds in less than six weeks after the outbreak of the war. The system in force in München is followed in almost all the other cities. The trains coming from the front run directly into the hospital. The men who are on stretchers are lifted out into a vast examination room, from which those who need immediate attention or who cannot stand further transportation are sent upstairs to the operating rooms, or wards. The rest are loaded on tram cars, still on their stretchers, and sent to the various other hospitals in the city. The trolley tracks have been extended so that practically all transportation of wounded is by tram car, instead of by ambulance, resulting in greater speed

in transportation, more comfort for the men and consequently a lower death rate.

The hospitals which I visited in Germany —and I visited a number—are scrupulously clean and well kept, and very comfortable. Much is done for the men's amusement, including "Kaffee und kuchen" every afternoon, during which there is usually a band concert. They are well cared for and have all they need, even to two dietaries, which I am told is not the case elsewhere.

The German wounded, like the wounded of every other country, are patient and brave, cheerful and contented. Like other Continental soldiers, they are as simple-hearted as children and very grateful and appreciative for any little presents of chocolates or cigarettes.

The surgeons seem to be a very superior class of men, and the nurses impressed me

more favorably than any I have seen but our own. The supply of trained nurses, of course, proved utterly inadequate for the needs of the war. The deficiency in numbers was made up by volunteers, most of whom belong to the aristocracy and middle class, and have had preliminary training of from six weeks to three months.

The Germans claim that their losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners have been on the west front about one-fifth less than those of the French and English, and on the east front about one-third less than those of the Russians. They also claim that because of superior sanitation at the front, by giving the men bathing facilities, and more or less frequent changes of linen, for field laundries follow the troops, and by keeping the trenches in a reasonable state of cleanliness, 85 per cent. of the wounded return to active

service. Gas gangrene, that horrible filth-germ infection, which is the dread of French surgeons, is practically unknown in Germany, and typhus and cholera have thus far been excluded.

In addition to the regular hospitals there are various institutions supported by private charity for the purpose of helping particular cases. There are schools to teach trades to the permanently maimed, and in almost all of the large cities homes for the care of the totally blind. Of the latter, fortunately and curiously, there are less than 1,000 in France and less than 900 in Germany. In Germany they receive a pension of 1,600 marks, or $400, a year, which is more than the average peasant in sound health can possibly earn. The home for blind soldiers, or Kriegsblindenheim, in Berlin, at No. 12 Bellevue Strasse, of which her Excellency Frau von

Ihne is the head, gives them not only a home where they are cared for and receive medical attendance, but also a school where there is instruction in massage, typewriting, music, and rope, basket, and slipper making.

Germany is quite able to care for her own wounded and requires neither surgeons nor nurses. Certain supplies are, however, much desired, chiefly bandages, which should be ten yards long and four inches wide, and absorbent cotton. A more or less useful substitute for cotton has been invented in special wood pulp paper, but cotton is, nevertheless, greatly needed. Supplies can be sent to Germany through the American Red Cross. Money can be used to great advantage, and the various blind homes, like that at Berlin, are supported entirely by private effort.

One of the largest items of expense for Germany in the war has been the care of

prisoners. As the German war losses have been much smaller than those of the Allies, so the number of prisoners taken by the Central Empires have been much greater than the number taken by their enemies. The Central Empires have taken between them some two million prisoners, of whom Austria-Hungary has captured about 600,000, and Germany about 1,400,000. Roughly speaking, of the prisoners in Germany 50,000 are English, 400,000 are French and the rest are Russians.

Besides these there are five thousand British civilians interned near Berlin. The Germans do not intern women as the French do, and only began interning male civilian enemies after the Allies refused to permit civilian Germans to return home. Civilian Englishmen were not interned until November, 1914, three months after the war began,

when it became evident that Great Britain would not release the German civilians she had imprisoned.

The military prisoners are held in the interior of the empire in prison camps containing from three to fifteen thousand men each. The officers are kept by themselves in castles and country places set apart for the purpose. The prisoners of the three enemy nations are drafted more or less indiscriminately to the different camps. While the French and Russians get on very well together, the English keep entirely apart, and even among themselves preserve their class distinctions. Among the Tommies the captured members of the British garrison of Antwerp receive a good deal of good-natured chaff. They are always known as the C. I. V.'s, or "Churchill's innocent victims."

While in Berlin I was taken to the prison

camp at Münchberg, and except for the members of the Spanish Embassy, which is charged with the interests of the Russian and French prisoners in Germany, and a few correspondents, I was the first foreigner to visit it.

It is not one of the show camps, for it is some thirty-five miles from the city, and not easy to get at. When I was there there were about four thousand French and Russian prisoners, but no British.

The camp was, of course, not luxurious, but it was well policed and fairly comfortable. The food is sufficient, and while plain is good and wholesome. As there has been some complaint of insufficient food, it may not be amiss to give the bill of fare for the day of my visit, which, by the way, was entirely unexpected by the officer in command. Every one in Germany but prisoners is lim-

ited to 250 grams of war bread a day; prisoners are given a daily allowance of 300 grams of the same exceedingly good and wholesome bread. For breakfast on the day in question the prisoners were given coffee and bread; for dinner, bread, a heaping plateful of beef goulash, which I ate and found excellent, and apples; for supper more coffee, bread, sausage, and cheese. There is a canteen where all sorts of delicatessen and soft drinks may be bought at cost.

The food is the same in quality, but more generous in quantity than that given to the German troops. The complaints come chiefly from the English, who are used to far more meat and far greater variety. I asked one of the prisoners at Münchberg, who in happier times is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Brest, how he found things. He told me that there was enough food, but

that the menu was extremely monotonous. "Actually, Monsieur," he said, "the only real complaint that one can make is that one is a prisoner."

There seemed to be the best of good feeling between the French and Russian prisoners, although the latter, for the most part peasants, were obviously far below the former in intelligence. All the prisoners are required to take a monthly bath, and may bathe as often as they like. The French keep the bathrooms constantly employed, while the Russians have to be driven there almost at the point of the bayonet. The bathrooms, as well as the barracks and mess room, are steam heated and well lighted.

Work has been found for a large proportion of the prisoners at all the camps, in railway construction, on the fields, and in various town industries. It is purely volun-

tary, no prisoner being required to work unless he wants to, and each being paid 65 pfennigs and an extra meal for each day's labor. In view of the fact that the German private receives from 33 to 60 pfennigs per day, the French soldier about the same, and the Russian soldier even less, the pay is not so bad, although, of course, far below the normal rate of German wages. The British prisoners generally decline to work, but the French and Russians do so willingly. In many cases the prisoners go to and from their work unguarded and seem quite happy and contented. As a matter of fact, the Russian moujiks are better off than they have ever been in their lives, for they not only receive rather better wages than they have received in Russia, but in addition are housed, clothed, and fed in greater comfort than they have ever known.

The French prisoners receive from home an average of 10 marks, or $2.50, and two packages a month per man. Since the war began the Russian prisoners have received absolutely nothing, either from their friends at home or from the Russian Government. Despite this fact, and while the French send no money back to France, the Russians send home almost all the money they earn as agricultural laborers.

The Russian prisoners kill time in sleeping or gossiping; the French have devised a number of amusements, chief among which is theatricals, the plays being written, managed, and acted and the scenery painted by the prisoners themselves.

I saw a very amusing one-act farce at the "Grand Theatre de Münchberg," written by a professional playwright and acted by a company drilled by a Paris manager, who

had for leading man and leading "lady" two well-known provincial actors.

There was great excitement because of the rumor that a draft of prisoners which was expected the next week would contain a well-known tenor and two violinists.

"With the material that I already have," the manager told me, "I shall be able to produce grand opera. I have a trombone, a kettle drum and a baritone, and with a chorus drawn from the Russians, most of whom have voices, I shall do very well. My only weakness is in composers. I have one, but he has never written anything more than cabaret songs. He has ambitions, and perhaps he will do. We can, after all, only hope. There are other camps that have given opera bouffé, but if we succeed we shall be the only one that has attempted grand opera."

CHAPTER II

GERMANS CONFIDENT OF VICTORY

Great admiration felt for rank and file of British soldiers, and for the ignorant bravery of officers. Italy considered negligible. Russians are particularly courageous. Ill-feeling toward France. Surprise at unfriendly attitude of United States press. Birth of "two schools of thought": (1) Annexationists, who wish to hold all land already gained, and (2) Anti-annexationists, who want only certain naval stations and such territory as will hold England in check. Possible adjustments in other interested nations after the war.

WHAT is even more impressive than the apparent economic strength of the empire is the confidence of the German people in the outcome of the war. During the time I was in Germany I talked with a great number of Germans, of all walks and conditions of life, from the highest to the lowest. All alike, statesmen and soldiers, professional men and

merchants, shopkeepers and hotel waiters, cab drivers and car conductors, expressed the same absolute certainty of German victory. It is not a matter of opinion or of hope with them, as it is with the optimistic in the other warring countries, but a feeling that it is no more possible for Germany to lose than it is for the sun to set in the east. They are so certain of victory that they know it is coming, just as they know that spring follows winter. No German ever says "If we win," but always "When we win."

The English press has brushed aside the German feeling of certainty in success by saying that the truth has been withheld from the people by Government order, and that they have been fed on lies so long that they have at last believed them. This explanation does not explain the phenomenon of

German confidence, for the very good reason that it is not true. In England and Italy the enemy's war bulletins are only printed after having been revised by the censor, and are not printed at all either in France or Russia, while in none of the allied countries can any German newspaper or book dealing with the war be obtained.

Not only do the German newspapers print every day the war bulletins of the Allies, just as issued, but in Germany alone of all the warring countries can the enemies' newspapers and books be bought. I nowhere in Germany had any difficulty in buying the English, French, or even Italian newspapers, or any of the more recent and successful French and English publications on the war.

The result of this feeling of certainty which is reflected in the German press is a sentiment of greater tolerance toward their

enemies than is shown by the latter toward the Central Empires.

The hatred of the English for the Germans is heartily reciprocated, yet it is only fair to say that the spirit of hate is expressed less violently in Germany than it is in Great Britain. Germans believe that Great Britain brought on the war, and that but for her the peace might have been kept for another decade at least. They realize that the war is a struggle for supremacy between Germany and Great Britain, and that the war's outcome will determine the fate of the world for many years to come. Such being the case, their every energy is concentrated on the defeat of England as the ultimate end of hostilities, the defeat of the other Allies being merely incidental and preparatory to the main purpose of what they consider a purely defensive struggle.

The excellence of the British Tommy is everywhere acknowledged, while the reckless but ignorant bravery of the British officers is always spoken of with the greatest admiration, the regret being often heard that men so gallant should be so incompetent.

Italy's part in the struggle is regarded as being nearly negligible, for General Cadorna, although outnumbering his opponents nearly four to one, is said to have thus far failed to even dent their line of defense. Said a prominent German to me: "Besides somewhat delaying the end of the war, the only real result accomplished by Italy's participation has been to make it popular in Austria-Hungary. Before Italy joined the Allies the Austro-Hungarian people, who had never been very enthusiastic, were growing rather tired of the war. But such is the Austro-Hungarian hatred for the Italians

that the moment the latter violated the terms of the Triple Alliance and embarked on their struggle for the acquisition of Austrian territory the Austrian and Hungarian peoples, Germans, Magyars, and Slavs alike, all became enthusiastically eager to humble Italy."

Italy's declaration of war, while angering the German people, has not evoked the same hatred that is felt toward England. Germans profess to feel more contempt than hatred for the Italians, whom they refuse to regard very seriously. For Russia there is felt considerable respect. Her troops are considered excellent as defensive fighters, patient, brave, and of great endurance. Like the English, they are said to be badly officered, but nevertheless all German soldiers agree that every one of von Hindenburg's victories has been the result of the very hard-

est kind of fighting. The Russians have often been defeated, but never disgraced.

Nicolai Nicolaievitch is, however, severely blamed for the policy he has consistently followed during his long and constant retreat of destroying every village he has abandoned, laying waste the country, and barbarously maltreating the people.

The feeling toward France is one of deep respect and unbounded admiration. Joffre is considered to be one of the greatest Generals the war has produced, and his armies are praised without stint for their morale, their endurance, and their bravery.

Upon four points the Germans feel bitterly toward the French. The first is the employment of African troops, who have brought to Europe, as have some of the British "native contingents," the savage warfare of their native jungles; the second is the

refusal of the French to permit the bringing in of the wounded from between the lines of fire, which results in untold and needless suffering, and adds another unnecessary horror to modern warfare; the third is the internment of German women who were found in France at the outbreak of the war, although Germany has never interned French women; and the fourth is the ill-treatment of German prisoners at the beginning of the war. Latterly, thanks entirely to the efforts of our embassy at Berlin, the condition of the prison camps in France has been somewhat improved.

As an offset to the ill-feeling toward France is the general belief that had France been let alone by England she would not have entered the war. England is regarded as the marplot of Europe, who not only forced the war on Germany, but induced and forced

France, Russia, and Italy to join her. Taking advantage of the French desire for "la revanche," she is alleged to have finally persuaded unwilling France to pull England's chestnuts out of the fire.

"Of all the Allies France is the only one who entered the war with a valid excuse," a German friend of mine said to me. "Revenge as a casus belli may not be admirable, but it is at least respectable, which is more than can be said for the motives actuating either England, Italy, or Russia."

The German sentiment toward the United States can best be described as one of pained astonishment. Germans cannot understand why the majority of American newspapers and so many of the American people are so strongly pro-ally. They cannot understand the constant talk in American newspapers of the violation of Belgian neutrality by the

German Army, of the so-called "Belgian atrocities," and of the Zeppelin raids, any more than they can understand the failure of so many of our newspapers to print the German side of the case.

Every German believes that when the German Army entered Belgium that country had already surrendered her neutrality; that the so-called Belgian atrocities never occurred, and that, on the other hand, what are called in Germany the Russian and African atrocities are unspeakably horrible, and that the Zeppelin raids were only undertaken in reprisal for the French raids on Freiburg of Aug. 2 and 3, 1914, before the war had technically begun.

No German with whom I talked expressed himself in favor of war with the United States; on the contrary, all seemed honestly in favor of the maintenance of peace. It

seemed to be the general impression that some way, honorable to both nations, would be found out of the submarine difficulty, although we are considered as unreasonable in insisting that the presence of a single American passenger should give a ship immunity from being torpedoed without warning in the war zone.

On the question of the export of arms and ammunition there is a feeling of great disappointment and sorrow at what is generally considered our national unfriendliness. The technical and legal right of United States citizens to export war material is conceded, but it is felt that while it is not in violation of the letter it is in violation of the spirit of neutrality. Germans argue that it is on all fours with the lending of money to the belligerents, and deeply regret that the President did not see his way clear to follow up

his disapproval of loans to the combatants by forbidding the trade in arms.

Latterly the German press has been far more moderate in its tone toward the United States than has been the American press in its attitude toward Germany. Nevertheless, the German people are firmly convinced that the shells which are killing and maiming their sons are made in the United States and that for the sake of the "blood money" we receive we are unwilling to forbid the traffic. No one in Germany wants war with the United States; very few Americans want war with Germany. They insist that it is a great pity that, if the peace is to be preserved, which, thanks to German and American good sense, it doubtless will be, we should not retain German friendship.

They point out that, thanks to our export of arms to the Allies, we have already lost

any possibility of playing an important rôle single handed when peace comes. German friendship, they say, even from the purely selfish standpoint, is well worth retaining, for after the war a friendly Germany will be a far more valuable asset in our national development than a Germany that believes that we sold ourselves to her enemies and did our best to prolong the war.

Most Germans expect von Hindenburg to bring the Russian campaign to a speedy conclusion. It is thought that he will either capture Riga and Vilna and then dig himself in, or if the reduction of these two places takes too long, dig himself in on his present line, without making any immediate effort, as some have suggested, to capture either Petrograd, Moscow, or Odessa.

What interests intelligent Germans is not so much whether von Hindenburg will dig

himself in this week or next, to-day or a month hence, as what will the General Staff do with his "striking force" when it has been released from the eastern front.

It is generally supposed that when the eastern armies have been "dug in" 1,000,000 men can hold the line, and that there will be available for use elsewhere a German-Austro-Hungarian force of nearly 2,000,000. The German part of this force has been checked, but never defeated, and has won the two most overwhelming victories in history in actual losses in killed and wounded, the battles of Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes. For months the Austro-Hungarians have also been constantly victorious. This vast army, or rather group of armies, which has become saturated with the belief that under the Generals whom it trusts and loves —von Hindenburg, von Mackensen, von Lu-

dendorf, and the rest—it is absolutely invincible, may be employed in several different ways.

The greater part of it may be used in a drive against Calais, or through Serbia, in the effort to force the French-English expedition into the sea and to capture the Suez Canal. Many think that the western front will be strengthened, for latterly a part of it has been held with only a single line, without reserves, while the main effort will be made against the expeditionary force in Gallipoli.

Russia is supposed to have been put out of the reckoning for some months to come, and there are those who think it possible that before next summer she may be forced to make a separate peace. It is, however, generally believed that, for the present at least, she will not cause the Central Empires any serious anxiety. If the Allies at Gallipoli

can be driven into the sea before spring, Russia's hope of relief via the Bosporus will have been shattered and a separate peace will have been brought nearer.

Germans believe that if a separate peace can be forced upon one of the Allies peace with the others must follow as a matter of course. Peace with Russia is expected first, then with France, and finally with England. Peace with Serbia and Italy are considered certain whenever the Central Empires can spare half a million men for the purpose. How long the war will last no one in Germany is willing to predict. There are those who are hopeful enough to think that it will be over in another year, but all realize that the real end of the war and the lasting peace which all Germans hope for can only be reached when England has been brought to her knees.

It is the fashion among those who espouse the cause of the Allies to assume that because Great Britain is the richest nation and because she is, and for over a century has been, the mistress of the seas, she must of necessity destroy the power of Germany. Whether or not this assumption is well founded, it is quite certain that no German for a moment supports it. The German belief is that it is not only possible, but certain, that England's allies will be defeated in detail, leaving at the last the Central Empires and England alone and face to face in a final life-and-death struggle.

The Germans hold that this final struggle must end in the discomfiture of Great Britain. Deprived of her allies and faced with the united force of the two great Central Empires, who are self-containing and self-supporting, with the Suez Canal and Egypt

gone and India threatened, they cannot believe that the English people will refuse to make peace.

There is a saying in Germany that "Great Britain will never surrender as long as there is a single Frenchman left, or a single American dollar unspent." The Germans say that when the Allies are crushed and American profits curtailed, so that it will no longer be worth our while to support the English cause, when in short Great Britain finds it impossible to make other people fight her battles for her and is obliged to place in the field what the Germans call "Kitchener's mythical millions," in other words, when she must fight alone, as she is charged with never having done in modern times, then, and not till then, is it expected that she will be willing to make peace on terms that will endure beyond the lives of the present generation.

So certain are the German people of ultimate success that the terms of peace are already being generally and seriously discussed. The Germans are rapidly grouping themselves into two loosely organized parties, or schools of thought, on the question of what the terms of peace should be. For want of better designations these may be called the "annexationists" and the "anti-annexationists."

The annexationists are led by what is called the "Krupp crowd," and the chief agrarians, and include practically all the leading industrials and landowners in the empire.

The annexationist movement started at Essen with the insistence that Belgium and Northern France must be retained, so as to have in German hands a virtual monopoly of the coal and iron mines of Western Con-

tinental Europe. Just as the present German tariff law was enacted by the joint efforts of the great industrials and landowners, so in the present instance the annexationist movement has included the same forces. The great landowners seriously objected to the retention of Belgium and Northern France because of the resulting and large increase in the industrial vote that would follow unless this increase should be compensated by the retention of agricultural Poland, with its population of 16,000,000 peasants. Both interests have combined and jointly advocate the retention of every inch of occupied territory.

The annexationists may be said to include what we would call the "interests," who, having vast capital at their disposal, are able to make a showing which seems to be disproportionate to their actual strength.

The anti-annexationists include most of the army, the non-industrial middle class, the vast mass of the people, and, if rumor be correct, the Chancellor, and—the Kaiser. In other words, the struggle seems to be between certain great aggregations of wealth on the one hand and the rest of Germany on the other, with the almost certainty that the selfish and short-sighted ambitions of the interests will be defeated.

The anti-annexationists agree that as Germany is fighting for self-preservation in a war that was forced upon her after years of preparation on the part of her enemies, she will be justified in exacting peace terms that will for a generation at least insure the peace and curtail British supremacy. No peace can be lasting that ignores the claims of nationality, therefore the peace when it

comes must be founded upon nationality as its base.

England went to war loudly proclaiming the rights of the small nations, say the Germans, and forthwith destroyed the newest small nation of them all—Albania—to satisfy the greed of her ally, Italy. Germany must and will be more consistent if the anti-annexationists have their way.

The greatest sinner against the spirit of nationality has been Russia. The misgoverned and oppressed Finns will be taken from their master, and, being too small and weak to stand alone, will be joined with Sweden in a loose autonomous union. The three million Germans in the Baltic provinces will be joined to Germany, and this will be the only territorial increase that Germany will insist upon under the anti-annexationist program. The Russian Germans have been ill-

treated by the Czar's Government, oppressed and exploited as an alien and conquered race. Their annexation will merely be the recognition of their national and racial aspirations.

Poland united with Galicia, and with, perhaps, a part of Prussian Poland, will be erected into an independent monarchy, of which the Emperor of Austria will be crowned king, and constitute a third part of a new Austro-Hungarian-Polish empire. Strangely enough, except from the annexationists, the only objection to this plan comes from Austria. The anti-annexationists do not want Poland as a part of the German Empire, but prefer her as a buffer State between Prussia and Russia. The Poles themselves prefer to constitute an integral part of the Austrian Empire to either membership in the German Empire or absolute independence, but the Austrian Germans

bitterly object to the arrangement. They urge, with a great deal of force, that if 16,000,000 Polish Slavs are to be added to the domains of the Hapsburgs, the Slav element will so greatly outnumber both the Germans and Magyars that the empire will become almost as much a Slav nation as is Russia. Because of this objection it may be necessary, the anti-annexationists believe, to constitute Poland an independent buffer State under the joint protection of both Austria-Hungary and Germany.

France, for whom nothing but sympathy and admiration is expressed, will at least, as far as the Continent is concerned, be left in her status quo ante bellum. Calais will be taken from England and given back to France, for no German believes that France will ever recover Calais except by the force of German arms, and the northern provinces

will be restored. No indemnity will be exacted from France or any other nation, for it is not believed that any will be in a position to pay. The "lost provinces" will not be restored, for it is not believed that their people, who are fighting so gallantly and loyally for the empire, would for a moment consent to the transfer.

Italy is to be deprived of Albania, the islands in the Ægean that she promised to give up and did not, and of her colonies. The punishment of what Germany calls her treachery will be left to England. Great Britain's efforts to secure the repayment of the money which she has loaned the Italian Government, added to the wastage and destruction of the war, are expected to reduce Italy to such poverty and misery that for a century at least her ambitions need not be feared.

From Great Britain the anti-annexationists propose to take back the colonies lost during the war, exchanging them here and there for mutual convenience. In addition, they hope to receive naval stations in different parts of the world, so that Germany may share with England in the supremacy of the seas. "We are fighting for the freedom of the seas," say the anti-annexationists. "We do not want a monopoly of the world's commerce, but we insist that England should cease her dog-in-the-manger policy and permit the rest of the world to share in what is her exclusive property neither by law nor equity. If England is willing to concede to us the necessary naval stations, then Belgium will be returned to the Belgians, always excepting a small strip of land between Liége and Herbersthal, which for strategical purposes we shall be obliged to retain. If

England refuses our just demands then, much against our will, we shall be forced permanently to retain Belgium and to fortify her coast against British aggression."

In the Balkans the annexationist rearrangement of boundaries will be governed by the principle of nationality and also by the attitude of the Balkan powers during the war. Bulgaria will, of course, receive large territorial compensations for having entered the war, while the neutrality of Greece will be rewarded with the union of the neighboring tribes of Greek nationality. Rumania, who has played with both sides and been true to neither, will be left alone, unless at the last moment she throws in her lot with the Central Empires. A part of Serbia and Albania will be annexed to the Slav dominions of the Dual Monarchy, which by the addition of Poland will become a Trial Mon-

archy, and may even be reorganized still further by the constitution of a fourth autonomous kingdom of Slavs, including Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, and parts of Albania and Serbia.

In Africa and Asia the policy of recognizing nationalities is to be carried still further and a series of Mohammedan empires is to be created under the ægis of Germany, to act as buffer States against British aggression.

The Sultan of Turkey is to be restored to his ancient authority as Caliph in the Mohammedan world, Persia is to be freed from British and Russian intrigue and reorganized as a modern Moslem State. North Africa, with the exception of Algeria and Tunis, which are to be left to France, will be divided between the Sultanates of Egypt and Morocco. It can be readily seen that

while the anti-annexationist ambitions are extremely limited in the direction of territorial acquisitions they are designed with the purpose of forcing from Great Britain a part of her world rulership.

Germany has succeeded in establishing her influence beyond dispute in Constantinople. If she wins the war that influence without much doubt can be extended around the Mediterranean and across Asia Minor. What Germany needs for her economic development is not only colonies, although they are most important, but also markets for her products. If these can be obtained through the friendship of a number of Mohammedan empires under German influence she will have succeeded in displacing Great Britain from her position as the first Mohammedan power and in sharing with her the commercial hegemony of the world.

The anti-annexationists, like all Germans, insist that Germany has no ambition to become the ruling nation of the earth. That she merely desires to obtain from Great Britain a fair share of the world's commerce, and that in striving to displace England from her position of mistress of the seas she is fighting the battle of all the nations against British despotism.

CHAPTER III

BELGIUM UNDER GERMAN RULE

Conditions are not abnormal in any way. Unemployment exists because capitalist class will not resume usual industrial activities. Train service superior to that of France. Crops unusually abundant. Plenty of native labor to gather it. No lack of cattle, sheep or poultry. Newspapers running as usual. No rigid censorship in evidence. In fact there is little to suggest German occupation. Effectiveness of Belgian Red Cross Organization. Excellent work of American Relief Commission.

"I WISH that it were possible that we might cross Belgium on our way to Holland," I said to a friend of mine who occupies a high position in the German Imperial Government.

"There is nothing easier than to arrange it for you," he replied, "but for your wife is an entirely different matter. With the exception of some nurses, no ladies other than Belgian have been allowed to cross into Bel-

gium since the war began. However, one can but try, and I shall telegraph for permission to the Military Government at Brussels."

In twenty-four hours the permission came, and in twenty-four hours more we were on our way.

We broke the journey at Köln and, accompanied by five trunks, left there at 8 o'clock the next morning on one of the three daily express trains, which, with their dining cars, run through to Lille via Liége, Louvain, and Brussels. There were three other civilian passengers on board, and all the rest were officers and men returning to the trenches after a fortnight's leave, for Germany has enough troops to allow each man at the front two weeks' leave every six months.

We crossed the frontier at Herbersthal, the formalities being about the same as those

in force on entering Russia in time of peace, except that our luggage was not opened.

Our railway followed the route of the German Army on its march to Brussels, and signs of fighting were still apparent. There are many graves by the roadside and in the fields, those of the German and Belgian dead marked in the same way, with a little cross, bearing a number which corresponds to an entry in the official records, which gives the tag numbers of all those in each grave. Many of the villages show signs of shell fire, and many of the railway stations have evidently been recently rebuilt.

The train service is greatly reduced from the normal, yet there are more express trains, and more dining and sleeping cars running from Germany through Belgium to within ten miles of the firing line, than there are in France. In the latter country there

is seldom more than one through train run between the principal points each twenty-four hours, while in Belgium the chief routes are served by from two to six trains daily.

When the Germans entered Belgium the Belgian railway employes almost all disappeared. It was, therefore, necessary for the Imperial Government entirely to reorganize the service, which has been effectively done with a German personnel.

The French names of the stations have German equivalents substituted. Thus Louvain becomes Löwen, Liége becomes Lüttich, and Anvers becomes Antwerpen.

The railway fares have all been raised, as they have everywhere on the Continent, and luggage is taxed not by weight as formerly, but at the rate of 2.50 francs per trunk. On the railways, as everywhere else in Belgium, both German and Belgian money circulate

side by side at the rate of one mark equal to 1.25 francs. Once inside the Belgian frontier no further formality is necessary in moving from place to place, unless one wishes to visit either the firing line or a fortress, in either of which events a further permission is necessary.

On our way to Brussels we passed through a fertile country well watered and well wooded, the loveliest part of Belgium. This year's harvest has been extremely abundant, the wheat, rye and barley crops having been unusually large, while the fruit crop has been far above the average. Despite the size of the crops there seems to have been enough men to handle them, and in only a few instances was the German Government obliged to help the peasantry with soldier labor. The apple harvest was so large that the Government has made great efforts to encourage the

export of the surplus to Germany, Holland, and even to Great Britain.

Everywhere we went the land was well cultivated, every inch of soil seemed to be employed, and there was certainly neither waste land nor were there crops rotting in the fields. There were more men of military age working on the farms than we had seen in either Germany, Switzerland, or France.

There is apparently no lack of cattle, sheep and poultry, although we saw no signs of the 16,000,000 pigs the Germans are alleged to have driven into Belgium to devastate the land. The cows grazing in the pastures seemed as sleek and numerous as usual. If the Germans have helped themselves to cattle, as has been charged, they have left a great number untouched.

We found Brussels very much as we had last seen it, five years ago. There were none

but military motors in the streets, for all private cars have been commandeered. The trams, however, were in operation, and there were enough horse cabs. Several of the big hotels were closed, but most of them were open, and the cafés and restaurants were in full blast. We dined and lunched at several places and had quite as excellent food as one usually has in good Parisian restaurants. The shops were all open, the streets, especially in the shopping districts, crowded with the usual movement and bustle of a busy little capital.

There were many soldiers in evidence, almost all middle-aged men belonging to the Landsturm, all the privates carrying their rifles when on leave as a precaution against attack, although few soldiers have been murdered since the early days of the occupation.

Eighteen old and new newspapers are pub-

lished in Brussels. All of the newspapers whose proprietors cared to continue them still appear, and in addition several new ones have been started. They are allowed to print the Allies' war bulletins and to comment with surprising freedom on the war news. While the enemies' newspapers may not be sold in Belgium, all of the Dutch newspapers are permitted, regardless of whether they are for or against Germany.

French books, even those attacking the Germans, may be bought in the shops, the line apparently being drawn at the anonymously written "J'accuse."

The photographs of the Belgian King, Queen, and Princes, and Belgian, French, and English flags are openly displayed and sold in the shops and worn by many people in their buttonholes.

The picture gallery is open as usual, under

its own Belgian Director and his staff. When I was there it was crowded, many of the visitors being German soldiers, a number of whom were studying the pictures seriously, making sketches and taking notes. It may be said in passing that, reports to the contrary notwithstanding, the Germans have taken no pictures out of Belgium.

Brussels, like all the other cities of Belgium, is policed by its own native municipal force, which has been continued intact, with a German officer at its head. The royal garden is closed to the public and given over to convalescents, and the Red Cross flag flies from the King's palace and a number of public buildings used as hospitals. There are great signs with pointing arrows painted at some of the street corners to guide military motors passing through the city.

Except for these few changes and the field-

gray uniforms in the streets, there is little, on the surface at least, to suggest the German occupation. In fact, Brussels is less sad than Paris, and shows to the eye less evidence of the war.

The Germans claim that the people of Brussels are becoming reconciled to the presence of German troops, and that everywhere in Belgium the refugees are returning. It is said that less than half a million Belgians are still absent in Great Britain, France, and Holland; that almost all the peasants have returned to the fields, and that the harvest was gathered almost entirely by the Belgians themselves, with very little help from the soldiers. Those who still remain away are mostly the rich and factory hands who are unwilling to go home unless assured of work.

Actually less than 1 per cent. of Belgian

factory property has been destroyed during the war. That work has not been resumed in the factories throughout the country is, I am told, due to the unwillingness of the proprietors to go home and resume operations.

A flower woman in the market put the matter to me in a nutshell: "We poor people will continue to suffer," she said, "until 'le monde chic' comes back. We are suffering, of course, from the German occupation, but we are suffering more from lack of work. The smart people ('le monde chic') are really responsible."

Or as the barber who cut my hair said to me: "We proletarians love our country enough to come home and try to help her. Why can't the capitalists be as patriotic as we are?"

Any one who has seen rich Belgians spending their money at French and Swiss

watering places will doubtless echo the barber's inquiry. An antiquity dealer with whom I talked explained his high prices by saying that in his trade demand remained normal and supply had not increased. "Our rich are buying, not selling, valuables. We are a very wealthy people, and now that those who have money cannot spend it on motor cars and entertaining, they are buying pearls and jewelry, books, furniture, and pictures."

These are only incidents, but they serve to illustrate the popular feeling. The Germans are certainly doing their best to conciliate the Belgians, and to administer the country as efficiently as possible.

In the large hospital which has been established in the palace of the Belgian Academy there are not only German soldiers but also Belgian prisoners. In one ward there are

both German and Belgian officers, who seem to get on very well together. The private soldiers of the two countries are in separate wards, but, as far as I could see, receive exactly the same treatment. I saw several wounded prisoners who were being visited by their relations, a privilege accorded to prisoners in no other country. All the prisoners I talked with, including two stray Englishmen, told me that they could not have been treated more kindly or considerately.

It was in this hospital that I first saw the new German method of treating wounds without bandages. It is really the outcome of the necessity of getting on with as few bandages as possible because of the shortage of cotton. The wounded arm or leg is clamped fast to a frame and covered with a fly screen. The wound is washed from time to time with disinfectants and left open, with

nothing but a pad of wood pulp paper as protection. The success of the system is said to be extraordinary, wounds healing in from 10 to 15 per cent. less time than formerly.

It must be remembered that before the war social conditions in Belgium left much to be desired. The percentage of unemployment was large, strikes were frequent, and the spirit of social unrest was constantly growing. Brussels was the headquarters of international anarchy.

The immediate result of the war was to increase the destitution which already existed and the immorality and vice which always accompany great poverty.

No sooner had Belgium been conquered than the conquerors, moved by the German spirit of system and of order, began the double and extremely difficult task of curbing vice and reducing unemployment. The

critics of Germany may urge that she was influenced in her work of Belgian social reorganization by purely selfish motives in her own interest and in the interest of her troops. But whether this is the case, or whether Germany has sincerely desired to improve Belgian conditions for the sake of the Belgian people, the fact remains that she threw herself whole-heartedly into the work.

General von Bissing, who succeeded Field Marshal von der Goltz as Governor of Belgium, was unwilling to offend Belgian susceptibilities by acting through military channels. Accordingly the machinery of the Belgian Red Cross was and is being used like a vast charity organization society, backed by the power of Germany.

During the last few weeks a number of Belgian ladies, at last convinced of the Gov-

ernor's good faith, have joined the movement and are doing great service to their people. The Belgian Red Cross Society is charged not only with checking prostitution and reclaiming and caring for fallen women, with visiting the needy and sick in their homes, and looking out for the children who are too young to go to school, but also with the problem of unemployment.

The idea of using the Red Cross in social reorganization originated with Dr. Noeggerath, Professor of Children's Diseases in the University of Freiburg, who has been put in charge of the Belgian Red Cross work in Brussels.

Thanks to the energy and ability of Dr. Noeggerath and his assistants, to use a police expression, Brussels has been "cleaned up." He has organized and has running smoothly and effectively a "Magdalen

Home," a large crèche for the babies of mothers who are employed by the day, two kindergartens, a school for social workers and an enormous headquarters building. He has organized a stocking-knitting industry which gives employment to 5,000 women; a mail bag and knapsack industry which gives employment to 1,000 more, and he confidently expects to put some 15,000 other women at work before Christmas.

Besides this he has taken the Brussels lace-making industry under his wing, and is at present occupied in doing away with the middlemen by bringing together the hitherto sweated lace-maker and the lace merchant, so as to save for the former the unearned profit of the sweater.

Dr. Noeggerath's ideas are to be followed in Poland, and he has been training the men

who are to organize and administer a Polish Red Cross Society for the purpose.

The American Relief Commission is still in charge of the distribution of supplies sent from this country for the help of needy Belgians. There can be no question but that the commission has done and is doing excellent work in relieving distress.

Yet what is of almost as great importance to the happiness of the Belgians as food and clothing, is a good understanding with their conquerors. A year ago immediate food relief was of the first necessity, but to-day conditions have so greatly improved that it is possible for the authorities to look into the future.

The members of the American Commission have it in their power to place the Belgians under still another great obligation by acting as the intermediaries between con-

querors and conquered. A modus vivendi between the Germans and the Belgians of the capitalistic class is of the most vital importance to the Belgian people. Germany wants all Belgians to return, and, as far as possible, resume their workaday lives where they laid them down fourteen months ago. She believes that if the employers of labor will go back and accept the help of the German Government in opening up their factories, more progress can be made toward the resumption of normal conditions than in any other way. For the good of the Belgian people what is chiefly needed is work, and a demand for labor can only be created by a return to usual conditions.

It has been repeatedly charged that Belgians are not allowed to return to their own country, and that as there is no demand for manufactured goods there can be no possi-

bility of opening the factories. Whatever may have been the case at the beginning of the war, at present Belgians are not only permitted but urged to go home. There is demand in Germany for practically everything that Belgium can produce; in fact, were the Belgian factories to resume, there can be no question that they would soon be running on full time.

The members of our commission are in a better position to help Belgium than are any other body of men. It is probably beyond their power to establish a German-Belgian friendship, certainly at present, but if they would make the effort they would doubtless succeed in inducing the Belgians to meet German advances half way, and in so doing they would perform still another service for the people for whom they have already done so much.

CHAPTER IV

LOUVAIN

Accounts of serious damage to city greatly exaggerated. No evidence of shell fire. Four Belgian versions of alleged wilful destruction of town. Official German version. Concerted attack by native villagers upon peaceful German soldiers. Coming of reinforcements defeated purpose of Belgians. Houses were fired in order to smoke out the "snipers." Cathedral and art treasures saved from fire by German soldiers. Stagnation of Antwerp. Loss of shipping interests.

FROM Brussels we went to Louvain, half an hour distant, where we spent the afternoon.

According to the second report of the Belgian Commission of Investigation, after the events of Aug. 25, 26, and 27, 1914, practically all of the City of Louvain was destroyed, only the Town Hall and the railway station being left standing.

As a matter of fact the German official

statement that less than a sixth of the city was destroyed rather overstates than understates the truth.

The houses on both sides of the railway, before and after reaching the station, are in ruins, as well as those for two blocks on each side of the Rue de la Station, leading from the station to the Grand Place and immediately around the Cathedral. As we all know, the library has been destroyed and the roof of the Cathedral is considerably damaged by fire; otherwise the town is intact.

One of the favorite postal card pictures of Louvain, which has been widely circulated, shows the Town Hall with its east façade in ruins. This was evidently obtained by pointing the camera at the Town Hall across the débris of a house that had been blown up by dynamite to prevent the fire spreading to

the Cathedral. The result of combining the débris and the Town Hall, and of foreshortening the one so that the ruins are in the foreground of the other, is to make the débris appear to be a part of an apparently ruined building.

This photograph is as inaccurate as is a sketch "from the description of an eye witness," printed in one of the London illustrated papers, showing a party of German officers drinking champagne in a motor car which stands in the Grand Place, while the Town Hall burns and German soldiers slaughter innocent women and children.

Actually, and very oddly, the only injury done to the Town Hall was the decapitation of the only figure of a soldier on its façade.

I looked at the ruins of Louvain very carefully, and nowhere saw any evidence of shell fire. I saw no destruction that might

not have been caused either by fire or dynamite, as claimed in the official German statement. The little city of Louvain, never under the most favorable circumstances very lively, seems to have resumed its normal life. There is a good deal of rebuilding going on, and I was informed that the university has been reopened. Feeling everywhere is so high upon the subject of the war that it is too soon for the world to agree upon what really did happen at Louvain. It may not, however, be without interest briefly to summarize the different versions, official and otherwise, of the events of August 25, 1914.

There are four Belgian versions, all of which have numerous supporters and all of which cannot possibly be true. According to the first Belgian version, the Germans, actuated by cruelty and blood lust, without any excuse or reason, simply "shot

up" the town. According to the second Belgian version, thoroughly frightened, but without cause, and thinking themselves in peril of their lives, the Germans opened fire on the defenseless population. According to the third Belgian version, the Germans, with hellish ingenuity, posted German soldiers in some of the houses, with orders to fire through the closed blinds on passing German troops, so as to give the latter an excuse for destroying the city. According to the fourth Belgian version, which is the version favored by the Belgian Commission of Investigation, German soldiers fired on their own troops under the impression that the latter were Belgians, and when the mistake had been discovered, the German high command ordered the destruction of the town for the purpose of covering up the mistake of their own men

and of slaking their blood thirst upon the innocent townspeople.

The Germans have submitted their official version to the world, with a great number of affidavits from officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates. As the Belgian side of the case has been given unlimited space and the German side scarcely noticed, it may be well to state the latter at some length.

This is the German story: *

On August 19, 1914, the German Army entered Louvain and was received by the population with every evidence of friendliness. Nothing had occurred to alter the good relations which appeared to exist be-

* I do not vouch for the German version, as so many people seem to think, any more than I vouch for the four mutually contradictory Belgian versions. As I have said below, I submit all five versions "without comment on their credibility or possibility."

tween conqueror and conquered, when on the morning of August 25 the Belgian and English garrison of Antwerp attempted a sortie. There were left behind, almost as a matter of form, to guard the apparently well-disposed citizens of Louvain, a company of Landsturm and a company of train troops, whose ammunition and supply wagons were parked in the Great Square between the Town Hall and the Cathedral.

At 7 P.M. the Landsturm company, which had been outside the northwest gate of the town, in the direction of Antwerp, was marched across the city to the square in front of the railway station, where it bivouacked for the night. As the troops passed through the streets they noticed a great number of men and half-grown boys about, who, by the time they reached the railway sta-

tion, had disappeared completely. As the Cathedral clock struck eight, a green rocket exploded over the town. Complete darkness followed immediately, caused by the cutting of the electric light wires. The clock had hardly stopped striking when from almost every house on the Station and Great Squares there began a fusillade from rifles, shotguns and mitrailleuses, most of the firing coming from the upper floors. The firing killed and wounded a number of the soldiers, and stampeded the horses hitched to the supply and ammunition wagons.

After the first surprise, the troops rallied and returned the fire of the snipers. At half-past 10 o'clock reinforcements came, and the German cause was saved by a brigade of infantry under the command of General von Boehn.

Nevertheless, the firing from the houses

continued with undiminished vigor. It became necessary to smoke the snipers out, house by house. Each house from which there was firing was set on fire, and as the snipers appeared they were killed unless they surrendered. If they surrendered with arms in their hands, or if in or under their civilian clothes there was found the metal tag of a Belgian soldier, they were at once shot. If, on the other hand, any one surrendered without arms, or without a Belgian metal identification tag, he was put aside for trial later.

No such prisoner was shot unless two German soldiers testified they had seen him with weapons in his hands. No woman was either shot or injured. It is absolutely denied that Bishop Coenraets was either shot or molested, and it is insisted that he is living and

well at the home of Professor Dr. Toels at Firlen in Holland.

As soon as the fires which had been started to smoke out the snipers had done their work, the Germans turned their attention to preventing their spread to other quarters of the city. In doing this it became necessary to blow up a number of houses, especially around the Town Hall and Cathedral. Despite this the roof of the Cathedral caught fire, and before it could be put out it had done great but not irreparable damage. The pictures of the Cathedral were saved at the risk of their lives by German soldiers, and placed in the Town Hall, where they may now be seen.

It is said that at the university the librarian and his assistants all deserted their posts, locking the library behind them and carrying off the keys. It was not possible to

save either building or books, for when the doors were at last battered down the interior had been gutted. The sniping continued all through the night of the 25th, and through the 26th and 27th, and did not finally cease until the 28th. There were killed altogether about 100 Germans and about the same number of Belgians, including those executed after the fighting was over.

The German explanation of the uprising in Louvain is very similar to their explanation of the uprisings in other Belgian cities, and is at the same time their explanation of the so-called atrocities. The Belgian press and Government had from the beginning of the war advocated and encouraged francs-tireurs, snipers and guerrillas, who were urged to kill, wound, and maim as many Germans as possible. In support of this statement the Germans submit a vast

number of quotations from the Belgian newspapers and Government orders in reference to the unorganized and ununiformed "civic guards," their arms, and equipment. It is believed that the Belgian authorities expected the sortie from Antwerp on August 25 to be successful, and through agents in Louvain organized a revolt among the citizens for the same night. It is claimed that the hand of the Government is seen in the great number of Belgian soldiers captured in Louvain wearing citizens' clothes, the service rifles in use, and the presence of mitrailleuses.

When the townspeople saw the Landsturm company marching through the city from the direction of Antwerp, they thought the sortie had been successful and the troops were the head of the German retreat. They struck at an appointed signal under the im-

pression that they would be able to destroy a demoralized and retreating enemy. Had they been correct in their surmise as to the success of the sortie they might have cut off the German retreat. As it was, they made a fatal error and paid the price of their mistake.

On the morning of August 26 the general in command announced that if the sniping did not cease in forty-eight hours he would shell the town. When August 28 arrived, while the firing was not literally at an end, it had practically stopped. Because of this fact the bombardment of the city, which then took place, was purely technical. Four shells were fired into houses already in ruins, causing no loss of life and no further damage. These were the only shells fired by the Germans during the entire period of the fighting.

When the fighting came to an end the incident was declared closed, and the people of Louvain once more took up the routine of their daily lives.

These are the five prevalent versions of the happenings of August 25. I submit them without comment on their credibility or possibility.

We went to Antwerp by the morning train on a Sunday, passing crowds of holiday makers at the way stations and in the villages en route, for the Belgian peasant has resumed his old life even to the enjoyment of his Sundays. On our way we ran close enough to Mechlin (Malines) to see the tower of the Cathedral as it stands silhouetted against the sky. It seems to have suffered severely from shell fire, for it is nicked and dented from top to bottom. Yet the darkness of the fighting about Mechlin

is brightened by at least one brilliant exploit.

The Cathedral had caught fire, and hope of saving it and its contents had been given up when Captain Graf Harrach, who in peaceful times is the well-known German sculptor, with a handful of his men, broke down the door and at the peril of his life cut down and carried to a place of safety Van Dyck's masterpiece, "The Crucifixion." It is a satisfaction to know that the captain's heroism was rewarded with the iron cross.

As Antwerp is a fortress and on the frontier, almost as much formality is required on entering as is exacted on crossing the border. A special pass is necessary, and all luggage is examined and all women are searched unless the central authorities decree otherwise. Antwerp shows more signs

of the war than any other city we had visited since leaving France. It must be remembered that in ordinary times Antwerp derives the greater part of her prosperity from her commerce, and that before the war, next to that of Hamburg, her commerce was the greatest of any seaport on the Continent.

Now that the war and the British have cut her off from the sea, her commerce has, of course, ceased to exist. There are a few ships rotting in her harbor, her docks are deserted, and in her waterfront streets, once her pride, the grass grows six inches high. As in Brussels, the homes of the rich and prosperous are closed, for the well-to-do have preferred to remain away and spend their money abroad, rather than make the sacrifice to their pride and comfort of coming home to help their own people.

Of the three hotels on the Place Verte, the

Europe was destroyed during the siege, the Saint Antoine is used by the General Staff, and only the Hotel de Flandre is available for strangers. This, however, more than meets the demand, for there is nothing to bring strangers to Antwerp.

At the Musée Plantin, except for members of the Belgian Relief Commission, we were the first outsiders who had been there for over a year. But for one solitary man, we were the only guests in the hotel, which had closed its kitchen because there had been no one for whom to cook.

The town itself seems lively enough, hardly as much so as Brussels, and certainly not as much so as it used to be in happier days. But the shops are open, the coffee houses and restaurants crowded, and the streets and squares, especially on Sunday, full of citizens and German Landsturm soldiers in

their field gray uniform, with their rifles in their hands.

Considering the violence of the bombardment, which lasted almost continuously for forty-eight hours, and in that time reduced to submission what had been supposed to be an impregnable fortress, the damage done has been surprisingly slight. While the man in the street will tell you that over 2,000 houses were destroyed, the official Belgian estimate is that only 1,000 were injured. In this list has been included every house that was touched by a shrapnel bullet or sustained the slightest damage, including broken windows, so that the number of demolished houses probably falls short of 500.

These are scattered very widely over the central and southern parts of the city. No building of any importance has been in-

jured, and the Cathedral stands intact, although a picture postcard has been issued showing a part of the east end in ruins. This has been faked, as has the similar one in the case of the Town Hall at Louvain, by pointing the camera at the Cathedral across a heap of rubbish.

The picture gallery was unhurt and is now open, although only the modern pictures are on exhibition, the old masters having been stored in the basement by the Belgians before the bombardment began.

As in Brussels, the Belgian director and his staff are in charge. The day we visited the gallery it was crowded, chiefly with German soldiers, who, unlike the soldiers one sees in most European galleries, seemed to be really and intelligently enjoying themselves. St. Elizabeth's Hospital, which I had read had been destroyed by German

shell fire, had evidently been injured at one corner, if fresh paint and plaster were any evidence of recent restoration.

As at Louvain, almost everywhere that a house has been injured but not made uninhabitable, especially in the fashionable quarters of the town, the injury has been left unrepaired, sometimes apparently to the great inconvenience of the occupants. In fact, in most cases the injury has been made permanent, even at considerable trouble.

Broken blinds have been nailed fast, so that the break will show without absolutely destroying the shutter, bullet holes have been carefully framed, and shattered panes of glass have been backed with sheets of plate glass, boards, or oiled paper, so as more or less to keep out the air, and at the same time display to all and sundry the ruin wrought by German guns.

Doubtless when the war is over the towns that have suffered will be able to reap a harvest from American tourists by showing the actual ruin as it was originally wrought.

The people of Antwerp do not seem as content or as cheerful as those of Brussels. While those I talked with were bitter against the rich Belgian refugees for not coming home, they were equally bitter against the Germans. They have lost their commerce through the war and have nothing else to take its place. Antwerp, from being one of the most active cities in Europe, has sunk to the status of a struggling provincial town. The Germans have done what they could to help unemployment, but thus far it has necessarily not been as much as at Brussels, although they hope later to accomplish much more.

The people of Antwerp, like other Bel-

gians, are allowed to wear the Belgian flag and the picture of their King in their buttonholes, and read and circulate the Dutch papers and any French books they please. There is little indication that they have been placated, and everywhere we went out of sight of the Belgian municipal police we were greeted with hoots of "Sales Allemands," ("dirty Germans"), for, as we were the first tourists who seem to have been in Antwerp in a year, we were naturally taken for Germans.

In leaving Antwerp the same formalities must be complied with as on entering. Unless one has a special pass, baggage is once more examined, papers carefully rescrutinized, and women searched. There is only one train a day leaving Antwerp for Holland, and that travels very slowly. So many spies cross and try to cross the frontier be-

tween Holland and Belgium that every possible precaution is taken to break up the spy traffic.

There were a fair number of passengers on our train, but, thanks to the courtesy of the authorities, we were through with the formalities in less than five minutes. One changes trains at Eschen, with a delay of two hours, during which I watched our fellow-passengers, all men, Hollanders, Belgians, and Germans, being examined. The examination was thorough, but very courteous, and no more severe than is that to which outgoing foreigners are subjected on leaving France.

When the Dutch train was ready, we found our carriage had been kept for us by an exceedingly polite Prussian sergeant. To him we offered some boxes of cigarettes which had been left over from our last hos-

pital visit. With many excuses he "begged leave to decline because he was on duty."

The whistle blew and the train drew out from the station, bound for the Dutch frontier, a quarter of a mile away. The last we saw of the conquerors' army of occupation was our polite sergeant, standing at attention, with his hand at the salute.

CHAPTER V

FRANCE SACRIFICES TO WIN

No real hatred for Germany except among American colony and a small section of unrepresentative French. French people make many sacrifices for "La Patrie." Irritability in Government circles. French people kept in ignorance of real conditions. Establishment of oppressive dictatorship without consent of people or parliament. Viviani Ministry employs unconstitutional methods. Censorship active. No uncensored "war news" permitted from the front. No German newspapers allowed. All mail matter held up five days before leaving France.

TO any one who knows France and has been there recently, by far the most impressive feature of the war is the spirit of the French people. Wherever one goes, with whomsoever one talks, it is the same. There is a profound realization of the tragedy of the war, as of something as inevitable as fate, overpowering, almost overwhelming all peoples and nations alike.

At first Frenchmen went to the war in the spirit of enthusiasm and conquest, for the recovery of the "lost provinces" for which they had been preparing for over forty years. But they soon found that there was not as much desire on the part of the Alsatians to be "recovered" as they had expected. Men have returned from Alsace with stories of wells poisoned by Alsatian farmers and of French sentries shot in the back by Alsatian peasants, and, moreover, Alsatian and Lotharingian troops have been fighting manfully and loyally in Poland against Russia. All this served to damp the first enthusiasm, and as the months have gone by the phase of enthusiasm and conquest has entirely passed, for Frenchmen realize now that they are fighting for life.

There is a grim determination throughout the country to win if victory is possible,

and if not to lose gloriously. There is among the people a calm, cheerful willingness to make any and every sacrifice of life, property, and even liberty for "La Patrie." One of the great surprises, and to their enemies one of the great disappointments, of the war has been the way in which the French people have refused to be stampeded.

It is true that in the beginning they became excited and that there was rioting in Paris, but there has never been any question of popular disapproval or even of discontent with any of the burdens and hardships imposed by the war. There has never been any question of the ability and willingness of the civilians "to hold." If France is beaten it will be by force of arms from without, and not by revolution. Those Germans who counted on internal disorders in

France as one of their allies already realize their mistake and acknowledge that the France of 1914 is a very different France from that of 1871.

What greatly impresses any neutral who has lately seen much of English people is the difference in spirit between the English and the French. While the British upper and middle classes are thoroughly aroused to the magnitude of the task before them, the people hardly realize its importance. In France, on the contrary, from the President to the smallest gamin, all appreciate the vastness of the undertaking upon which they have entered.

While the British people are more or less apathetic, the hatred of the upper and middle class English for the Germans is far greater than that of the Germans for them, while the French have no more hatred for

their enemies than have the latter for the French.

The English call their enemies "Huns," "Pirates," and "Murderers," the French call them by no worse names than "Les Boches," a contraction of "Alboche," the corruption of "Allemand," by which the Germans have been known for years in the extreme north of France.

Neither the French soldiers nor those civilians who are in touch with the front through the presence there of sons, husbands, or brothers have anything but respect for their enemies. They realize that the Germans are fighting for what they believe to be the right, that it is no disgrace to be beaten by them, and that every skirmish won is a feat of arms of which to be greatly proud.

The only real hatred of the Germans that seems to exist in France is among the mem-

bers of the American colony in Paris, who, like all foreigners living abroad, are for business and social reasons always more loyal than the King; among a small section of the French people who have no relatives at the front, and who are inclined to believe everything they read in the French newspapers; and among certain members of the bourgeois ruling oligarchy.

It must be remembered that the Government and its immediate supporters have been under a terrific strain for over a year. It is therefore not surprising if the strain is beginning to tell on individuals so that many of them have become nervous, irritable and unjust. Not only are they unjust to their enemies, which is to be expected, but they seem unable even to be fair to neutrals.

The Pope's suggestion that there might be something to be said on the side of the Ger-

mans called forth a storm of abuse, with the absurd hint that he had been "bought by German gold," while President Wilson's neutrality, certainly not unfavorable to the Allies, was violently denounced in official quarters. He was charged with being pro-German because he had not declared war against Germany, and M. Clemenceau and M. Hanotaux, although not in office, supporters of the Government, taking advantage of an indiscreet attack made upon the President by an American stopping in Paris, went out of their way to abuse Mr. Wilson in the newspapers with which they are connected, *L'Homme Enchainé* and *Le Figaro*.

As the war goes on this irritability in Government circles becomes more evident, and with it an ever-increasing objection to trusting the people. This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that since war

was declared the French people have never proved themselves unworthy of any trust that has been given them.

Before the battle of the Marne, the people were kept in ignorance of the real condition of affairs. It was not until they heard the sound of the German guns outside Paris that they knew that anything was wrong with the French Army. It is doubtful if any other people on earth would have stood the shock of the discovery as well as did the French. They took it perfectly quietly and bravely. Some who could do so left Paris, but most with admirable courage and patriotism remained.

Again, when the much-advertised spring forward movement, which was to drive the Germans out of France and Belgium, ended in the disastrous defeat of Arras, in which 100,000 Frenchmen were killed, wounded,

and captured, the Government suppressed the news. After a week's time the news became public through the English papers and by word of mouth, and once more the French people stood the strain calmly and bravely.

Yet even this second proof of French trustworthiness in adversity has produced no effect upon the Government. Strangely enough in a democracy, the members of the Ministry seem to distrust and fear the people, and they have distrusted and feared them from the very beginning.

The war had hardly begun when the Government, without either popular or Parliamentary consent, brushed aside the Constitution and the laws and established what is in effect, if not in name, a dictatorship as oppressive and as complete as any ever exercised by either of the Napoleons.

Germany declared war against France

on August 3, 1914. The French Parliament met the next day and, as required by the Constitution, recognized the existence of a state of war. In a single session, without amendment or debate, it enacted into law eighteen bills submitted by the Government, and authorized the President of the Republic to borrow eight milliards of francs, to be spent upon the public services in any way the Government might see fit. It was perfectly willing to subordinate itself to the executive, and in the face of national danger legislate without comment on any subject or in any way the Government might desire.

This, however, did not satisfy the wishes of M. Viviani and his associates, who almost immediately after their flight to Bordeaux declared the session of Parliament closed by a notice printed in the *Journal Officiel*. It

is not only insisted that the Government had no legal right to close a session of Parliament held during "a state of siege," but it is further claimed that the only legal way that any session can be closed is by the reading of the decree of closure from the tribune of both chambers.

As the budget for 1915 had not been voted, the Government was obliged to call Parliament together again before the expiration of the year. This was not done until December 24, when, after three meetings in which the chambers showed themselves as subservient and as pliant as before, the session was again closed in the same illegal way.

On January 12, 1915, Parliament met under the Constitution for its regular session, which must last at least five months. Until lately it has at no time shown itself inclined to in any way embarrass the Government or

to disobey the latter's orders, no matter how unconstitutional they might be. In fact, in two particulars, it has gone so far as even to surprise many Frenchmen who thoroughly approve of the present dictatorship.

The members of the French Senate are elected for nine years. In January of this year the terms of 102 Senators expired.

"It is difficult," said the Government, "to call together the electoral colleges, and in fact some of the departments affected are in the hands of the enemy. It will be even more inconvenient to have 102 seats vacant. Let us therefore ignore the Constitution and by a simple act of Parliament indefinitely extend the terms of those Senators who are about to go out"—which Parliament on December 24, 1914, unanimously, and without a single word of debate, proceeded to do.

In other words, one-third of the members

of the French Senate have absolutely no constitutional right to their seats. The extension of the life of the British House of Commons by act of Parliament is an entirely different matter, for the British Constitution, being unwritten, can be amended by act, so that anything not antagonistic to Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement is of itself constitutional.

The French Constitution is written and rigid, yet the French Parliament, to save the Government from an inconvenience, for it was nothing more, did not hesitate to commit a constitutional violation, which in any but a Latin country would make null and void any future legislation it might enact, and even in France has raised the question of the validity of all legislation enacted during the present session.

In the Chamber of Deputies an equally

extraordinary condition of affairs has been tolerated. Out of a membership of 603, more than one-third the total, or 220 Deputies, have been mobilized. Asked by the Committee on Leaves of Absence of the Chamber for a list of the members affected, the Minister of War refused to furnish the desired information, and the Chamber accepted his refusal.

Curiously enough, two Under Secretaries of State, including the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, have been mobilized and are at the front, although continuing to hold office, and like the other Deputies with the colors, are never free from military discipline and can attend the meetings of the Chamber only by the permission of their military chiefs. If they were to attend without permission they would be liable to be shot for desertion "in the face of the enemy."

A Deputy named Mirman, in his capacity of Deputy, signed a circular in praise of the Minister of War, and was promptly punished as a private soldier for having taken part in politics. By a recently enacted law, Deputies, formerly forbidden to do so, may now accept decorations. It is very easy to see that through the fear of punishment, the hope of reward and the force of discipline, the Minister of War can and does absolutely control over a third of the Chamber of Deputies.

Acting under Government orders, Parliament has made a third of the membership of one house unconstitutional and imperiled the validity of all legislation, and in the other has permitted more than a third of its membership to become the private property of the War Department. Surely it would seem that a Parliament willing to go as far as

this in obeying orders might have been trusted to any extent.

Yet such apparently has not been the case, for the Viviani Ministry has preferred to employ even more unconstitutional methods of government to trusting the Chambers. It has reverted to the methods of the Second Empire, and ever since the war began, in direct violation of both statute law and Constitution, France has been governed by Ministerial decree.

According to Professor J. Barthélemy of the Faculty of Law in the University of Paris ("Du Renforcement du Pouvoir Executif en Temps de Guerre") these executive decrees have been of three kinds:

1. Those formally suspending existing statutes;

2. Those directly violating existing laws; and

3. Those substituting rules decreed by the executive power for laws already enacted by Parliament.

It is needless to say that none of these decrees has either legal authority or moral justification. In a very few instances Parliament has subsequently legalized decrees; otherwise they have continued to be, as in the beginning, absolutely illegal.

The most illegal example of existing law suspended by Ministerial decree cited by Professor Barthélemy is that of the law against "congregations of women." Under the so-called "Combes" laws religious associations of women, as well as those of men, were declared illegal, and the nuns who had done so much, so faithfully and so nobly, for France, in education and in caring for the sick and poor, were expelled from the country and their property seized.

When the war broke out the Government awoke to the fact that the only trained nurses (the nuns) that France had ever known were forbidden to enter the country. Accordingly, instead of asking Parliament to amend or suspend the law against congregations, which would have been the legal procedure and which request Parliament would undoubtedly have promptly granted, the law was suspended for the duration of the war by Ministerial decree. The Government had no more legal right to suspend the law than had the first passerby in the street.

Under the second and third heads, violation of existing laws by decree, and substitution of decrees for laws, for both mean practically the same thing, the examples are so numerous that only a few of the most glaring can be mentioned.

Under the law, no official, either civil or

military, can be deprived of his office or his rank without the authority of a properly constituted council of discipline. This has been brushed aside by the decrees of August 15 and September 10, 1914, placing every employe of Government, from the general in command of groups of armies to the messenger boys in the civil departments, at the mercy of their hierarchical chiefs, in most cases a single individual, who, without appeal, may remove, suspend, or degrade any or all subordinates.

Under the law no court-martial, which must consist of five officers, can try a prisoner, either civil or military, without a certain delay, nor inflict the death penalty without a delay sufficient to permit an appeal. A decree (September 6, 1914) substitutes for the legal court of five a court of three members, and permits them to try, condemn and

execute a prisoner, either civil or military, without any delay whatever. The prisoner is not only tried for his life by a court of illegal constitution, but is deprived of his right of appeal. Surely even Russia and Turkey, at their worst, have gone no further than this.

The law provides only one method for the removal of Mayors; that is by Presidential decree, the vacancy thus created to be filled by the election of the Municipal Council, unless there is an official charged with the functions of Vice-Mayor. Yet in many departments the Prefects have removed Mayors and appointed their successors, and where they have not approved of the Mayors' conduct have even suspended them, with as much legal right as the Sheriff of Steuben County would have to remove the Mayor of New York.

The Constitution provides that in case of a vacancy in the Chamber of Deputies the Executive shall order a special election within three months. Yet a decree of August 7, 1914, indefinitely postponed all such special elections.

By the decree of January 7, 1915, the Executive forbade for all time the sale of absinthe and the opening of new places for the sale of alcoholic drinks. This was new legislation of a most radical kind, repealing the existing law and substituting a new law in its place, not for the duration of the war, but indefinitely.

Using Article IX of the obsolete law of August 9, 1849, which permitted the military authorities during a "state of siege" to forbid publications and meetings tending to excite disorder, and the law of August 4, 1914, which punishes indiscreet publications

of a military nature, the Government has decreed a censorship the like of which the world has never known.

No new newspaper may be started without the permission of the censorship. Of existing newspapers only one daily edition may be issued, no "scare heads" or "display type" may be used, no newspaper may be "cried" in the streets. Every word that is printed must first be passed by the Censor, on pain of the suspension or suppression of the newspaper. No criticism of any one in authority, either civil or military, is allowed, nor may any military news be printed that is not passed by Headquarters.

Some of the vagaries of the Censor would strike any people but the Latins as, to say the least, amusing. For many weeks *The London Times* was not allowed in France, because it was supposed to print news un-

favorable as well as favorable to the Allies, nor for the same reason were the newspapers allowed to print the British official bulletins. Of course, no German newspapers are allowed to enter France, although French and English newspapers may be obtained in any large city in Germany. The climax was capped when the newspapers were forbidden to print the weather predictions, on the ground that they might furnish valuable information to the enemy. To any one who has ever followed French weather predictions, which do not come right once in a hundred times, the force of this censorship rule does not appear.

All mail matter is held up by the Censor for five days before being permitted to leave France, and both inward and outward bound mail is liable to be opened, although there is no authority in law for the proceeding.

Thus far there has been no popular protest against the dictatorship of the Viviani Government. The French people are so determined to win that they are willing to make any sacrifice to do so. They have been told so constantly that victory will be impossible without the temporary loss of political liberty that they have begun to believe that it is so.

In our sense of the term, the French Republic has always been undemocratic, for, thanks to the absence of great parties, and to the group system, thanks to a strongly centralized and bureaucratic Government, it has been possible for a self-perpetuating bourgeois oligarchy to rule the republic undisturbed. Changes of Ministry merely mean changes in the individuals constituting the Government without any important change in principles or policies. There is,

therefore, in Parliament, no effective opposition and Ministers live and fall by the force of temporary combinations of a number of Parliamentary groups.

CHAPTER VI

*DISAFFECTION WITH VIVIANI MINISTRY**

The illegal status of the ruling ministry. Praise of General Joffre. French politicians criticise British tactics. France has no more men for the army. Fall of Calais and seizure of Suez Canal means end of war. Creusot blunder and exoneration of General Joffre. Fear of "war dictatorship" being retained after peace is declared. Should Germany win, she will find it to hèr interests to preserve the French republic intact.

THE present Viviani Ministry, contrary to all precedents, was formed while Parliament was not in session. It came into existence August 26, 1914, and governed until December 24, without receiving even the indirect approval of the Chambers. All its members belong to the

* Since this chapter was written the Viviani Ministry has resigned and M. Briand has become Prime Minister, with General Gallieni as Minister of War and therefore General Joffre's superior.

ruling oligarchy, although professing various shades of opinion. M. Guesde is a Socialist, M. Ribot is comparatively conservative, while M. Briand is an ex-Syndicalist, and M. Viviani an ex-Socialist.

It is needless to say that were General Joffre not in complete sympathy with the oligarchy he would not hold his present rank. Like his political associates, he is a bourgeois, and an extreme radical, and every step he has made in recent years has been due to the caste of which he is a member.

Much display is made of his absolute impartiality and of the fact that the Marquis de Castelnau, a member of the old aristocracy, commands a group of armies. Except for that of General de Castelnau, however, one looks in vain among the names of high commanding officers for the "particule," as the French call it, the "de," which is sup-

posed to indicate aristocratic birth. There is no reason why General Joffre and his associates should not prefer their own class for high command, and, in fact, they would be very unwise were they to give military power to any but men in whom they had every confidence.

The dictatorship has made itself as secure as possible in the belief, so say its supporters, that this is the only way of accomplishing the gigantic task which confronts it, for it fully realizes the seriousness of the present military situation. No well-informed member of either Chamber has any illusions about the allies of France.

These members profess to understand fully the motives that brought Italy into the war; in fact, they are scarcely just in speaking of her, when it is remembered that

Italy would probably be at peace but for the efforts of England and France.

They are convinced that if Italy can unaided conquer the territory upon which she has set her heart she will at once make a separate peace with Austria. In proof of their theory they point to Italy's unwillingness to sign the agreement by which France, Russia and Great Britain have pledged themselves not to make any separate peace with the enemy, and express the hope that sooner or later Italy will be obliged to come to Paris and London for money, when terms will be enforced binding her to her allies until the end of the war.*

The feeling of French politicians toward England strikes a neutral as being very unfair. They concede the immense service

* Since the above was written Italy has signed the agreement not to make a separate peace.

Great Britain has done the Allies in holding the seas and in lending them money, but they are openly and severely critical of the British Army. There are on the Continent not more than 800,000 Englishmen, and this number, it is said, can never be surpassed. In proportion to the length of front held by the French the British are holding about one-quarter of what they should hold. While great admiration is expressed for the British "Tommy" and for the bravery of his officers, the latter are freely called ignorant and incompetent.

It is claimed that again and again the British Army has been saved from defeat only by the timely help of French troops.

The thus far complete failure of the Dardanelles campaign is attributed entirely to British incompetence. It is said that the French were misled by the British naval au-

thorities into undertaking what was from the military point of view an impossible task, on the assumption that it could be accomplished in a few days or, at the utmost, weeks. Now that it is under way it can never be abandoned, even if the fighting continues until the end of the war.

The only hope of success, certainly in the immediate future, lies in a flanking movement through Bulgaria, which can, of course, only be accomplished with the latter's consent. Thus far that very wily individual, King Ferdinand, and his advisers have resisted all the inducements, both financial and territorial, offered by the Allies for the abandonment of Bulgarian neutrality.

The seriousness of the fall of Warsaw is perfectly understood by the rulers of France. Much emphasis is laid on the Russian declaration that the loss of the entire

Kingdom of Poland is of no moment, and that in due time they will drive out the Germans, but this is merely for the benefit of the public. Thinking Frenchmen know that the fall of the Polish capital is the most disastrous blow that the Allies have suffered since the war began. From the strategical point of view the loss of Belgium was of very great importance, but the loss of Warsaw is even more vital, not only strategically, but morally and politically.

It is obvious that von Hindenburg, having accomplished the purpose of his year-long campaign, in reducing Poland and Courland, will decline the invitation of the Russians to follow their weakened and more or less demoralized army into the heart of Russia, and, securing his conquests from Riga to Sokal, will, for the present at least, be content to hold them. Even the English

concede that for some months to come Russia will be a negligible quantity. If it is true that the Central Empires have some three million troops on the eastern front, the defeat of Russia will release fully two million for other purposes. Germany will have at her disposal nearly two million victorious and seasoned troops, probably as good fighting material as the world has ever known.

Like the troops who followed Napoleon, the army of von Hindenburg has implicit faith in its commander. It has been checked, but never defeated, and from Tannenberg to Warsaw it has won a series of victories far greater in extent and immediate importance than any in history. The psychological effect of belief in its invincibility is to make an army invincible. Von Hindenburg's army, or rather armies, believe that they are unconquerable, and, with the greatest gen-

eral the war has yet produced at their head, it may very well be that they are right.

In view of the fact that, except for the boys under 18, France has almost reached the end of her resources in men, and that the English reinforcements have been disappointing in quantity and quality, the question which interests the Allies to the point of extreme nervousness is, "What will be done with this vast army ready to be released?"

All or part of it may be used in a drive against Calais. In the latter event, now that the road is open to Constantinople, the part not used against Calais may be used to bring Rumania to terms, or what is much more likely employed in a campaign against the Suez Canal and Egypt. Should Calais fall and the Suez Canal be seized, in all human probability the end of the war will be in sight.

It has been said that the three main purposes of German strategy have been the capture of Warsaw, of Calais, and of Paris. The first has been accomplished. If the fate of Calais should be that of Warsaw, Germany will never need to march on Paris, for as far as France is concerned, the war will be at an end.

It will thus be seen that the ruling oligarchy in France, when it faces outward, looks upon a sky clouded with uncertainty and doubt. Nor when it faces inward is its horizon altogether clear.

Recently there has developed in the Chamber of Deputies a certain amount of unrest under the Government's rule, which has suggested a growing disposition to revolt against the dictatorship. So much has this been the case that the Government has not dared to dismiss the Chambers by de-

cree, as it did in August and December of last year, and Parliament has been sitting continuously since January. At the end of July of this year, at what we should call a caucus of the different Parliamentary groups, it was unanimously resolved that each standing committee of the Chamber should through one of its members keep in touch with the governmental department to which the committee is accredited. For example, the representative of the Standing Committee on Public Health is to keep himself informed as to how the Government is handling the sanitary features of the war, to report from time to time to his committee, which in turn is to report to the Chamber.

There has been a great deal of curiosity and much speculation as to who is responsible for the sudden display of independence in the Chamber. Some say that its author is

Aristide Briand, present Minister of Justice and former Prime Minister, and that its purpose is the displacement of the Viviani clique in favor of M. Briand and his friends.

There are others who believe that the legislative revolt has been organized by the enemies of General Joffre, with the hope that by overthrowing the Ministry they may substitute for him as General in Chief either Gallieni, the Military Governor of Paris, or Foch, who commands one of the groups of armies.

While this explanation is possible, it is hardly probable. Although there has lately been considerable criticism of the Commander in Chief for not having accomplished more against the Germans, he seems to have retained public confidence.

The policy of the Ministry has been to suppress as far as possible the names of all

officers in high command but that of Joffre. As M. Millerand, the War Minister, said, with great self-satisfaction, "This has been and will be, as far as we are concerned, an anonymous war." In other words, the Government is avoiding as much as possible the risk of an appearance of a "man on horseback" who might overthrow their colleague, General Joffre, in the popular fancy and give them infinite trouble.

The consequence has been that, with the exception of that of the Commander in Chief, the people know the names of scarcely any of their generals. It is possible that General Joffre might be improved upon, but, thanks to the policy of the Government, his successor would suffer from the handicap of not being known to the public—a terrible weakness in modern France.

Undoubtedly General Joffre has been held

responsible for much for which he is in no way to blame. For example, at the outbreak of the war all the employes of the Creusot arms and ammunition factories were mobilized and sent to the front, so as to show that the republic makes no difference between individuals. At length, when it was found that the Creusot works could not be run by old men, women, and children, when they had practically shut down, the Ministry sent hither and thither to find the former workmen.

Those who had not been killed or captured by the enemy were returned to the factory, whence they should never have been taken. In Germany all the hands at the Krupp works and all the former hands who could be found were mobilized for work at the factory, where they are serving Germany quite

as effectively as though they were in the trenches.

General Joffre has been held to blame for the Creusot blunder, although undoubtedly it was a political play of the Minister of War. In the same way he has been most unjustly charged with having ordered the disastrous drive into Alsace at the beginning of the war, which again was due to the personal initiative of the then War Minister.

It is probable that the real cause of the Parliamentary revolt is far more creditable than the insinuations of the supporters of the dictatorship suggest. There is a very general feeling among Frenchmen who know the situation that the dictatorship has gone far enough. While thinking men in France submitted uncomplainingly to the iron hand of the Viviani Ministry in the

early days of the war, under the impression that it was a national necessity, now that the nation has adapted herself to war conditions they are beginning to realize that if she is capable of maintaining Parliamentary government in time of peace she is capable of maintaining it in time of war.

Moreover, a war dictatorship contains the possibility of untold danger on the return of peace. They argue that if the Constitution and laws are to be laid aside in time of war because the Ministry honestly believes a dictatorship to be in the best interests of the nation, is it not possible that the Ministry may honestly believe it to be in the best interests of the nation to continue the dictatorship after the war is over?

Why, then, run the risk of imperiling the republic when the risk may be avoided by reasserting and reëmploying the constitu-

tional powers of Parliament? Deputies concede that should Germany win she would probably find it in her interests to preserve the French Republic. But this would be a fearful price to pay for the continuance of republican institutions. They hope and expect that France will win, and therefore believe it to be their patriotic duty to insure as far as possible the existence of the republic rather than court the danger of its possible overthrow at the hands of a Government less scrupulous than that now in power, supported by a victorious army.

CHAPTER VII

ITALY'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WAR

Italian vacillation and uncertainty as to course of action. Her strength not equal to her political ambitions. Italy remained neutral only so long as it served her interests to do so. The "break" with Austria-Hungary. The failure of Von Bulow's negotiations. Resulting "deadlock" with Central Empires. Sonino's radical alteration of Italy's foreign policy. Italy joins forces with the Allies.

DURING the weeks which preceded her declaration of war Italy passed through a series of experiences which, from our point of view, were so contradictory, so extraordinary, and so essentially Italian that they would have been almost impossible anywhere else.

The overwhelming majority known to exist in the Chamber of Deputies in favor of the preservation of neutrality changed almost over night into a nearly unanimous

vote in favor of hostilities, and the Salandra Ministry, apparently friendless one day, was enthusiastically acclaimed the next. From having been willing and anxious to keep the peace, provided that in so doing her national aspirations could be gratified, Italy has reversed herself and become an enthusiastic advocate of "La guerra per la guerra," or war for war's sake.

The great difference in method which exists between us English-speaking peoples on the one hand and the rest of the world on the other is that we always like to gild the pill of political deceit with the gloss of fine words, with what Bismarck used to call "the English phrases about humanity," while the others, the Teutons very often, and the Latins usually, seek to accomplish their purpose with neither concealment nor excuse.

The consequence is that an act which

seems perfectly natural and proper to a Latin because dictated by what he considers national necessity, may seem to us to be sordid, cynical, and selfish.

It is very likely that we might have done the same thing, but instead of proclaiming it frankly as the gratification of national ambition we explain that we have acted only from the highest motives.

Thus, while France seized Morocco, Germany Belgium, and Italy Tripoli, because they required, or thought they required, the conquered territory, and boldly said so, England seized South Africa and we seized Panama in the loudly proclaimed interests of the people whom we seized.

The most remarkable feature of our method is that, while in following it we deceive no one else, we most successfully deceive ourselves, so that we really believe that we

are unselfish, and view with genuine distress the selfishness of others. The truth of the matter is that when we do a mean act, we at least have the grace to be ashamed of it, and try to excuse ourselves as best we may.

In discussing Italy's recent foreign policy common fairness requires that we should do so from the Italian point of view and not from our own, and we should try to judge what has recently happened in Italy by Italian standards and not by the standards which we have set up for our own guidance, but which alas! we follow all too hesitatingly.

It must be remembered that Italy has lately felt the influence of the spirit of nationality quite as much as has any other nation. For the completion of her nationality her people have already made great sacrifices

and are ready to make many more. Her national ambitions are similar to those of every other country on earth, and we should be the last to condemn in her what we hold in honor among ourselves.

She wishes to become great and powerful, and like every other state worthy of existence looks forward to the day when she will dominate the world.

But economically her strength does not equal her ambitions. A constantly increasing population requires more and ever more employment and food, and neither employment nor food has kept pace with the number of arms that are willing to work nor with the number of mouths needing to be fed.

The surplus population has had to go abroad in very large numbers, and besides these there are some six hundred thousand

so-called "unredeemed" Italians living in the adjoining provinces of Austria. Under the theory of nationality every Italian living beyond the jurisdiction of the flag is a direct political and economic loss to Italy.

Italian nationality can never be complete until the neighboring Italians are covered by the flag and until white men's colonies are acquired, to which Italian emigration can be directed, for Tripoli does not seem to answer the purpose it was intended to serve.

Only when Italian nationality has been completed can colonies be acquired beyond the seas; in other words, can the work of Italian world empire building be begun. Only when the Italian nation has been achieved and when every pair of Italian arms has been saved to Italy will the economic strength of the nation be sufficient for world conquest.

The theory, of course, contains contradictions, for only the extreme Irredentists seriously believe that either Malta, Savoy, Nice, Corsica, or Ticino can ever be redeemed, nor have any Italians as yet advocated the "redemption" of their fellow-countrymen in North and South America. The doctrine of Italian redemption applies only to the Italian provinces of Austria-Hungary.

When the war broke out last August the Italian people at once realized the possibility of turning it to their advantage, and did not hesitate to announce their intention of making it serve "i nostri interessi"—"our interests"—which meant that they proposed to acquire a maximum of the spoils of war with a minimum of effort.

In this great world war of selfishness and greed, in which each country, except wretch-

ed Belgium, is fighting for its own hand, Italy should not be blamed for doing what all the rest have done, nor should she be criticised for openly announcing her purpose as none of the rest have been willing to do.

Italian statesmen have never forgotten that Machiavelli was the first to preach the modern doctrine of Italian nationality. And so in making a reality of the splendid dreams of the great Florentine they have never hesitated to employ the methods which he advocated.

There is an almost childlike simplicity in the Italian character which causes Italians to be rather proud of motives which we should conceal, even though they were based on apparent necessity. And when the interests of La Patria are involved Italians frankly insist that any means and any methods are justified for their defense. In our

hearts we may quite agree with the Italian idea, but we are always loath to acknowledge that we are willing to serve our country by morally equivocal means.

Signor Sonino set himself the task of making the best possible bargain for Italy by playing the belligerents against each other. As Italy was utterly unprepared for war, time was absolutely essential, and time she has gained.

How well the Government has employed the last nine months will only be shown when the Italian Army actually takes part in the fighting. It is certain, however, that both the Central Empires and the Allies have believed the services of Italy well worth bidding for.

Italy was undoubtedly justified in remaining neutral at the outbreak of the war; for the terms of the Triple Alliance only re-

quired her to fight in the event of an attack upon one of the contracting parties. It is, moreover, extremely doubtful if the Italian people would have submitted to a war on behalf of their hereditary enemy, Austria. For the moment both belligerents were, or rather had to be, satisfied, for Italy might have taken a position far less favorable to either one or the other.

As long as Marchese di San Giuliano occupied the Foreign Office, it seemed as though Italy would in good faith preserve neutrality, with the intention of playing "the honest broker" at the close of the war and of demanding compensation for her services.

When early last winter Marchese di San Giuliano died and was succeded by Barone Sidney Sonino, Italy's foreign policy was radically altered. Sonino, who is half an

Englishman, with more or less strongly developed pro-British sympathies, at once abandoned San Giuliano's course and began an aggressive diplomatic campaign against Austria-Hungary. The history of his activity is contained in the recently published "Libro Verde," or "Green Book," which is one of the most illuminating existing commentaries on present-day Italian political methods and practices.

On December 9, 1914, Sonino instructed the Italian Ambassador at Vienna to call the attention of Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to what Sonino claimed was a serious breach of the terms of Article VII of the treaty renewing the Triple Alliance.

While the treaty of the Triple Alliance has never been published, the many references to Article VII in the "Libro Verde" clearly

show its purport. It is obvious that it provided that should Austria-Hungary at any time permanently occupy any territory in the Balkan States, Italy should, in return, receive territorial compensation from Austria-Hungary.

Although Italy had declared her neutrality on August 3, 1914, and although Austria-Hungary had entered Serbia almost immediately after the declaration of war, it was not until four months later (December 9, 1914) that the Italian Government saw fit to ask compensation for that permanent occupation of a part of Serbia which the Dual Monarchy had evidently intended from the beginning.*

Sonino's dispatch of December 9 is certain-

* On Aug. 25, 1914, Marchese di San Giuliano stated that "it would now be premature to speak of compensations" (Annex I of Libro Verde).

ly admirable for its frankness. It contains no "fine phrases about humanity," but goes with brutal and cynical directness straight to the point.

The substance of it is that under Article VII it was agreed that if Austria-Hungary wished to seize Balkan territory Italy must receive compensation in Austro-Hungarian territory. That without previous consultation with her ally, Italy, the Dual Monarchy had entered Serbia with the evident purpose of remaining permanently, and that Italy had received nothing in return. If she wished to receive a free hand in Serbia, from Italy, she must meet Italian demands.

Count Berchtold was at first not inclined even to discuss the question of the alleged breach of Article VII, but consented to do so in a half-hearted way when urged by Herr

Jagow, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs.

On December 16 Prince von Bülow arrived in Rome and at once began his brilliant but hopeless efforts to bring together Germany's two colleagues in the Triple Alliance. According to the "Libro Verde," Prince von Bülow agreed with Barone Sonino that Article VII had been violated and at last induced Austria-Hungary to discuss seriously the question of compensation.

Baron Burian, who succeeded Count Berchtold, at first suggested that Italy's occupation of the Dodecanese and Valona was sufficient compensation to meet the requirements of the case. Italy replied that she must veto all Austro-Hungarian military activities in the Balkans until the question of compensation had been decided, and that the compensation must be in Austro-Hungarian

territory. At last Prince von Bülow told Sonino that he had advised Austria-Hungary "to give to Italy at the close of the war Italian Trentino." Sonino replied that the cession of territory must be made at once, whereupon Bülow succeeded in having the question of the time of cession postponed until after the amount of cession had been determined.

Then followed a long period of haggling, each side trying to overreach the other and to gain time, neither side being willing to come to a definite understanding. Italy was evidently unwilling to announce her irreducible minimum of demand, while Austria-Hungary was equally unwilling to announce her absolute maximum of concession.

Finally, on March 27, Baron Burian offered in return for a perfectly free hand in the Balkans to cede to Italy at the close of

the war Southern Tirol, including the city of Trento. To which, on April 8, Barone Sonino replied with a counter-proposition, which provided for the immediate cession of Trentino, as it belonged to the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy in 1811, Gradiska, and Görz, and six groups of islands off the Dalmatian coast; Trieste and its province, with Istria as far south as Pirano to at once become a free and independent state, Austria to recognize Italian sovereignty over Valona and its hinterland, and to give Italy a free hand in Albania.

In return for which Italy offered to give Austria-Hungary a free hand in the Balkans, to preserve strict neutrality toward both her allies, and to pay Austria-Hungary two hundred million lire in settlement of all property, debts, claims, etc., of and by the ceded provinces.

To this proposal Burian replied with another, offering a much enlarged territory to the north of Trento, including most of the Italian-speaking Tirol, but declining the other Italian demands. The Italian Ambassador to Vienna reported that he thought Austria might possibly consent to some modifications of the boundary between Friuli and the valley of the Isonzo and a recognition of Italian sovereignty over Valona, but nothing more.

On May 3 Sonino instructed the Italian Ambassador to denounce the treaty with Austria-Hungary, and on May 4 the Ambassador reported that he had obeyed orders, and with this last dispatch the "Libro Verde" closes.

The history of the negotiations has, however, been carried a step further by the Imperial German Chancellor, who in his speech

to the Reichstag on May 18 stated that Austria-Hungary had offered certain concessions to Italy. He mentioned no dates, but it is clear that the offer was made after Italy had denounced her treaty with the Dual Monarchy.

According to Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg Austria-Hungary offered to cede to Italy Italian Tirol and the west bank of the Isonzo, including the city of Gradiska, to make of Trieste a free city of the empire with an Italian university and freedom from military service for its inhabitants, to yield all Austrian and Hungarian interests in Albania, and to recognize Italian interests in that country and Italian sovereignty over Valona.

Germany promised to guarantee Austria-Hungary's good faith and loyalty in executing the agreement. Subsequently the Aus-

trian Ambassador in Rome stated that the offer was for cession of territory within thirty days after ratification.

It is possible, and even probable, that if, before May 4, Austria-Hungary had agreed to immediate cession of territory war might have been averted, for it is doubtful if the Italian Government would or could have refused the Austrian offer, even though it did not meet all the requirements of the Italian demand. Austria's mistake was in not yielding soon enough.

Knowing the Italian disposition to bargain, she did not realize that the Italian demand of April 8 was really an ultimatum. She assumed that it was a bluff, and that by prolonging negotiations she could make better terms.

She utterly failed to understand that Italy's military preparations were now com-

plete and that the Italian Government had nothing to gain by further delay. When Italy broke off relations with her she was honestly surprised, and then, when too late, yielded almost everything that Italy had desired.

She did not, however, yield everything, refusing enough to justify Sonino, at least in his own eyes, in the course he proceeded to follow. Although Sonino had made a quasi arrangement with England, and as the newspapers expressed it, "the national honor was involved," even then war might have been averted had Austria been willing to yield unreservedly to the Italian demands.

What Prince von Bülow's feelings must have been can be easily imagined. He came within sight of complete success, only to see the plans which his patience and great ability had been preparing through five months

of heart-breaking negotiations come to nothing because of the obstinacy of those in control of the Hapsburg Empire.

The Italian Government press has explained that the final Austrian offer made before relations were broken off could under no circumstances have been accepted. As Signor Giolitti has expressed it, "l'appetito cresce mangiando"—"the appetite grows in eating." The appetite of the country had grown to such an extent that nothing short of immediate cession would satisfy it.

It is insisted that a new promise to deliver at a future date would inevitably have resulted in a revolution in Italy, in which even the army might have taken part. Moreover, it is claimed that if the Central Empires had won they might have felt themselves strong enough to repudiate the bargain,

while if they had lost they would not have been strong enough to carry it out.

On the other hand, Austria's refusal up to May 4 to cede an inch of territory until after the war was supported by her press on the same ground of fear of revolution, and it was urged that war with the possibility of victory was preferable to the certainty of revolution with the probable fall of the dynasty.

Some time before the deadlock became certain, in fact when von Bülow was still very hopeful of bringing Austria and Italy together, the Italian Government had begun to feel out the Allies, and finally, if the Italian press is to be believed, on April 25, at the same time that they were negotiating with the Central Empires, made a qualified agreement with Great Britain acting on behalf of herself, Russia, and France.

While the terms of this agreement have not been officially published, it is generally understood that it provided that if before May 25 Italy should declare war against Austria she should be given a seaport in Somaliland, a slight rectification of the boundary between Tunisia and Tripoli, a free hand in Albania, the undisputed possession of any Austro-Hungarian territory she might conquer and hold at the close of the war, and large enough loans to finance her operations.

Soon after the treaty with Austria-Hungary was denounced the quasi treaty with Great Britain was made definite and Italy was bound, as far as the Ministry could bind her, to join the Allies against the Central Empires.

While the agreement with the Allies was kept secret, it had hardly been made when

it became perfectly evident that Italy intended to break with the Triple Alliance. The Government newspapers openly proclaimed the necessity of war, laughed at the proposed Austrian concessions as being utterly inadequate and as having been offered too late, and insisted that the honor of the country required her to fight.

CHAPTER VIII

GIOLITTI AND THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT

For fifteen years Giolitti has dominated Italian politics. Government furious at Giolitti's intervention. Resignations of ministry handed in. Example of mob psychology. King attempted to form new government. Continuation of Salandra ministry. War declared against Austria-Hungary. Italy doomed to disappointment no matter what the outcome may be. Conduct of Italian people worthy of highest praise.

THE people had concluded that war was inevitable when one morning Signor Giolitti reached Rome. Giolitti is the most powerful individual, one of the most admired, most feared, and most hated in the kingdom. For fifteen years he has dominated Italian politics and absolutely controlled the Chamber of Deputies. His enemies charge him with questionable political practices, and with being a man

who holds his power by machine methods.

All this may be true, but if so, he has only followed the system of his predecessors, Crispi and Depretis. In the eyes of his opponents his greatest sin has been his success, for the little men who rail against him have all tried unsuccessfully to copy him. Whether one likes the man and approves of his methods or not, one must concede his patriotism and great force of character.

The present Government was originally his creation, and San Giuliano was his old Foreign Minister. The advent of Sonino caused the Salandra Ministry to break with its creator, for there is no love lost between Sonino and Giolitti, and Sonino is the dominant force in the present Government.

From the very beginning of the war Giolitti has not hesitated to state his belief that Italy could obtain "parechi compensi"—

"some compensations"—from Austria without fighting, and he has earnestly opposed Italy's entrance into the war except as a last resort.

Immediately after his arrival in the capital he made his position perfectly clear. He was of the opinion that the Austrian offer made after May 4 should be accepted as being all that Italy could possibly expect, that war would delay Italian progress for fifty years, that even if she were able to conquer territory inhabited by Germans and Slavs and were to keep it, she would have on her hands "a problem of inverse irredentism, worse even than has been the German problem of Alsace and Lorraine," and, most important of all, that to wage war against Germany and Austria-Hungary, for more than a quarter of a century her allies, would be on the part of Italy an act of shameless

national perfidy. He has been quoted as saying, "If Italy goes to war, whatever the outcome, the results are bound to be most sad," (tristissimi).

The Government was furious at Giolitti's interference. They had bound themselves in their secret arrangement with Great Britain, and saw their power to carry out their agreement slipping from them. They tried in vain to break Giolitti's power. The services of d'Annunzio were secured, and the poet of decadence spoke early and late in favor of war.

The Government press charged Giolitti with having sold himself to Germany for cash, and abused all who opposed the Government program with a violence and a scurrility impossible in any other country. It was hinted that the national honor required a declaration of war, and Government

supporters went as far as they dared in suggesting the existence of an arrangement with England.

But, despite all their efforts, Salandra and Sonino found that the Chamber had rallied to Giolitti and that the country was rapidly following the Chamber. Had Giolitti been given two days more there would have been no war, but the Government was desperate and played its last card.

The resignations of the Ministry were handed to the King, and immediately interventionist demonstrations began all over Italy. These demonstrations were so evidently artificial that it was obvious they were organized or at least encouraged by agents either in the employment of the Government or its friends.

Any one who saw the Italian general strike last year must have been greatly im-

pressed by the difference between it and the recent anti-peace outbursts. The crowds who created the disorders of last year were composed of grown men, who meant business and who were out for trouble. The crowds to whom d'Annunzio spoke and who paraded the streets shouting "a morte Giolitti, viva la guerra," were made up almost entirely of half-grown lads and schoolboys, hardly any of whom were of military age.

The Government treated these very good-natured and orderly mobs with the greatest seriousness, and had in Rome at one time some twenty thousand men under arms, to control crowds which five hundred New York policemen could have handled easily. A few windows were broken, the signs of a few German shopkeepers were pulled down, and the Government newspapers announced that the revolution had come.

Mob psychology is so curious that, while the crowds were in themselves harmless enough, their influence began to be felt everywhere. People who in the beginning had laughed at the whole matter, after two days of demonstrations reached the conclusion that revolution was really at hand, and many neutralisti honestly became convinced that the only alternative to revolution was war.

The King, surrounded by troops, remained shut up in his villa outside the walls, all the shops were closed, and Italy stampeded.

Meanwhile the King had made two or three half-hearted and unsuccessful attempts to form a new Government. After the Cabinet crisis had lasted two days, during which the pro-war demonstrations grew constantly more noisy, Salandra was sent for

and informed that his resignation was declined. The announcement that the Salandra Ministry was to continue, with the consequent certainty of war, was received with apparently general enthusiasm, and that night all Rome demonstrated in favor of immediate hostilities.

On May 20 Parliament met and adjourned after having virtually suspended the Constitution by giving the Cabinet dictatorial powers to declare war and govern the country during its continuance. On May 23 Italy declared war against Austria-Hungary, and the next day von Bülow left Rome.

Ten days before war was declared a majority of the people were undoubtedly for peace, but changes in public opinion come in Italy with such extraordinary suddenness that what would be impossible elsewhere is quite possible there.

So it may be that for the moment at least the Italian people are sincerely in favor of war. Of course, although a noisy minority often can succeed in forcing an unwilling majority to do its bidding, for various reasons during the last weeks of peace many Italians were converted from a neutralist to an interventionist attitude.

A great number of these converts support the war as the only refuge from revolution, others believe that the only half acknowledged agreement with Great Britain so compromised the national honor as to make war inevitable, while with many their hatred of Giolitti has blinded them to the merits or wisdom of the course the Government has adopted.

These latter frankly say that they prefer war with all its risks to a peace preserved by the Deputy from Dronero, with the cer-

tainty of its resulting in his return to power. Besides there are those who honestly believe that Austria's offer of compensation was insufficient, and nurse the delusion that the Allies, if victorious, will permit them not only to make of the Adriatic an Italian lake, but also to share in the Turkish spoils in Europe and Asia.

Of course, Signor Salandra, or rather Barone Sonino, could not be expected at the last moment to do other than follow the course he had marked out from the beginning. With Salandra at the head of affairs, German military success was the only argument that could have preserved Italian neutrality, and a succession of important German victories would doubtless have altered the situation.

Last autumn the Italian Government evidently believed that the Central Empires

would win, and, as San Giuliano said, "did not consider the time opportune for a discussion of the question of compensation." As the chances of great German success grew less and as it became constantly more evident that the war might end in a draw or in a German defeat, Barone Sonino felt that the time had become most opportune for such a discussion.

The Government obviously decided that the future belonged to the Allies, and for the sake of Italian interests aligned themselves with the side they believed would win. There has been absolutely no pretense of sentiment in the matter. Sonino is probably prejudiced in favor of England, but excepting him very few prominent Italians have any particular liking for their new friends.

Had the Government not carried on ne-

gotiations with both sides at once, with the Central Empires and the Allies at the same time, it would have been free to accept Austria's final offer. Without striking a blow Italy could have realized almost all her national ambitions, and at the same time would have kept faith with her allies. As it is, she has broken with her old associates and begun a war the end of which no man can see, but that cannot possibly give her more than she could have gained without fighting.

No matter who may win, Italy can never realize her great expectations. If the Central Empires should triumph, she will be extremely fortunate if she is permitted to remain intact, while if the Allies should win, no matter how great the victory may be, she is doomed to disappointment, for it is past belief that Great Britain and France will

permit her to dismember Austria and make of the Adriatic an Italian lake.

Had she entered the war from altruistic motives the risk she is taking would have been perfectly justified, as it would be had she been attacked. But she has forced war on Germany and Austria-Hungary solely for the purpose of furthering her national interests by acquiring Austrian territory.

The nine months which preceded Italy's declaration of war were, it is true, a period of sordid bargaining and intrigue on the part of the politicians who control the Government. But it was a period lightened and relieved by the conduct of the Italian people.

Their patience through it all, their calmness and cheerfulness have been extraordinary. Times have been cruelly hard in Italy, and the poverty and real suffering have

been greater than at any time in the history of the new kingdom.

For nine months they lived literally from day to day, never knowing what the next day might bring forth. Their Government at no time took them into its confidence, and they really knew less of what was going on than did any intelligent outsider. Until the demonstrations in May were organized or accelerated there was never a hint of weariness or impatience, for all classes bore the hardships and sacrifices of the winter with exemplary good-will and fortitude.

Now that the time of waiting is over and the day of action has arrived, they have apparently all agreed to forget past differences and to look only forward. Most of them did not want war, but all—those who wanted war and those who did not, those who thought war inevitable and those who be-

lieved that a wiser leadership might have avoided it—are united in their belief that, right or wrong, La Patria must be supported.

At first most of the people took the war in the same happy spirit in which they take a holiday. They were so convinced of the invincibility of La Patria that they believed her entrance on the side of the Allies would result in the defeat of the Central Empires in a few weeks, and besides they had no conception of the horrors of war, of its cost in men and misery, and anything was better than the dreadful uncertainty of not knowing when it would begin. Very soon the spirit of the people changed, so that the general mobilization saw the regiments marching to the front, not singing or cheering, but in silence, leaving behind their mothers and their wives and their sweethearts.

If since the great European war began there has been but little to admire in the conduct of the politicians in control of the Italian Government, the conduct of the Italian people has been worthy of all praise. If the war which Italy has undertaken results in her everlasting credit and glory, no thanks will be due to those who might honorably have avoided it but nevertheless brought it about, but the honor will belong to the nation itself, because of the self-sacrifice, the endurance, and the patriotism of the people.

THE END